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MAJ-GENL. SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY, BART, K.C.B.
(from an engraving by Henry Meyer from a picture by Devis).

RECORDS

OF THE

LUDHIANA AGENCY.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE present volume is one of a series of selections from the Punjab Government records which have been published by the Punjab Government. The volumes constituting the series are—

The Delhi Residency and Agency Records	... 1807-1857, Volume I.
The Ludhiana Agency Records, 1808-1815, Volume II.	
The Political Diaries of the Resident at Lahore and his Assistants	... 1846-1849, Volumes III—VI.
The Mutiny Records—Correspondence and Reports	... 1857-1858, Volumes VII and VIII each in two Parts.

It had been intended to issue further volumes also, dealing with (*a*) the records of the Karnal, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies (including the despatches of Sir D. Ochterlony, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiana, and the diaries of his Assistant, Captain G. Birch), 1816—1840 ; (*b*) the records of the North-West Frontier Agency, 1840—1845, and (*c*) those of the Lahore Residency, 1846—1849 ; but it has been found necessary on financial grounds to postpone the publication of these further papers.

The material for the volumes issued has been prepared and put through the Press by Mr. A. Raynor, late Registrar of the Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE :

December 1915.

PREFACE.

The papers in this volume are a selection from the Records of the Ludhiána Agency from 1808—1815, which will be found in Books 1—15 of the old records of the Punjab Secretariat, original receipt letters being filed in one series of books and copies of issues in another. The period to which the papers relate is that between the arrival of the British at Ludhiána and the conclusion of the first Gurkha campaign in June 1815, shortly after which (October 1815) the head-quarters of the British representative in the Punjab were transferred to Karnál.

In 1808 the Governor-General received intelligence that the French designed the conquest of Kábul and the Punjab. The Government accordingly decided to despatch Envoys to both Lahore and Kábul, Mr. C. T. Metcalfe being selected to conduct the negotiations with Lahore and Mr. Elphinstone those with Kábul. In November 1808 the Governor-General (Lord Minto) determined upon advancing a detachment of British troops to the Sutlej to support the British Envoy in his negotiations with the Lahore ruler and effectually confine his dominion to the north of that river. This force was placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, who was specially selected for the

service. He crossed the Jamna on the 16th January 1809, and on the 20th of the following month reached Ludhiána, where he halted and strengthened his position.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh now saw the danger of further protracting the negotiations which were being carried on by Mr. Metcalfe, and, feeling that the British Government was in earnest and in no way to be turned from its resolution, at length awoke to the necessity of a speedy settlement with that power. He accordingly withdrew his forces from the Sutlej and relinquished the territories he had usurped, as required by the British authorities. Finally, in April 1809, Mr. Metcalfe concluded a treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by which that Chief relinquished for ever all supremacy over the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs and all claims to the Cis-Sutlej Territory which came under the protection of the British Government, and a Proclamation of protection against Lahore was issued to the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs. It was arranged that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony should remain in Political and Military charge at Ludhiána, being given a Persian Interpreter and Assistant in the person of Captain K. Stuart. Captain Stuart resigned his appointment in December 1809, and was succeeded by Colonel Ochterlony's son, Mr. R. P. Ochterlony.

In April 1810 Colonel Ochterlony was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiána, in subordination to the Resident at Delhi, through whom he corresponded with Government. Captain G. Birch was at the same time appointed Assistant to Colonel Ochterlony.

In 1811 a second Proclamation was issued to the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs prohibiting mutual aggressions, and warning them of the penalties to which violence and disturbance would render them liable. In 1812 and 1813 we find the Pátiála State suffering from maladministration, the Kábul

Royal family taking refuge in British Territory and the Gurkhas commencing those encroachments which led to military operations against them in 1814. Colonel Ochterlony was given the command of one of the columns operating against the Gurkhas, and during his absence from Ludhiána his Assistant, Captain Birch, was entrusted with the management of our relations with the Sikh States. The despatches written by Colonel Ochterlony while on active service are published in the Parliamentary Papers respecting the Nepal war issued in 1824.

On the termination of the campaign, which resulted in the expulsion of the Gurkhas from the hill territories which they had usurped, Major-General Ochterlony returned to his civil duties at Ludhiána, and in June 1815 was vested with control over the territory conquered from the Gurkhas, his designation being altered to that of Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General in the territories of the Protected Sikh and Hill Chiefs between the Jamna and the Sutlej. He was given two Assistants, *viz.*, Captain G. Birch, stationed at Náhan, and Lieutenant R. Ross, at Subáthu. Mr. R. P. Ochterlony resigned about this time and was succeeded by Lieutenant W. Murray, 1st Native Infantry, who was appointed an Assistant to General Ochterlony.

Major General Sir David Ochterlony, who had received the thanks of Parliament and been gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath for his services against the Gurkhas, remained at Ludhiána until October 1815, when, as already mentioned, the office of the Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General was transferred to Karnál where it was located until March 1822, when it was finally moved to Ambála. During the last few months of his stay at Ludhiána Sir David Ochterlony was engaged under the directions of Government in the disposal and

settlement of the hill districts conquered from the Gurkhas. The correspondence relating to the subject is very voluminous, and it has been considered unnecessary to include it in this volume. The arrangements for the accommodation of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk of Kábul and the members of his family who had taken refuge in Ludhiána also engaged Ochterlony's attention, and in November 1816 it was found necessary to post an Assistant (Lieutenant W. Murray) to Ludhiána to look after the Kábul Royal family and also hold charge of the Treasury, Abkari Mahal and Police.

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OF THE

LUDHIANA AGENCY.

CHAPTER I.

1808-09.

Despatch of a force under Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony to the confines of the territory of Raja Ranjit Singh—Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony as to the object of his deputation and the policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring British protection—Loyal Chiefs who joined Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony—Intelligence from the Punjab—Progress of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's command—Restoration to the original holders of the usurpations of Ranjit Singh—Unauthorized halt of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's force near Ludhiana—Arrival at Ludhiana—Desire of Chief of Jhind for territory in exchange for Ludhiana—Resources of Sikh Chiefs Cis-Sutlej—Declaration of policy of Government towards Sikh Chiefs—Censure passed on Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony for halting his force, his resignation of his command and restoration to it—Tenure of the post of Ludhiana—Intrigues of Raja Ranjit Singh with the Mahrattas—Attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor—Designs of Ranjit Singh.

1. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony,—dated Fort William, the 14th of November 1808.* (Most secret).

Necessity for advance of a force to the Sutlej.

The course of events and transactions at the Court of the Rajah of Lahore having rendered it necessary to advance a detachment of troops towards the confines of that Chieftain's

Necessity for advance of a force to the Sutlej.

territory as well as to provide eventually for military arrangements of a more extensive nature in the North-western quarter of Hindoostan, and the duties to be annexed to the command of that detachment being of a delicate and important character, requiring a combination of the talents of the military profession with political qualifications, local knowledge and experience, the interests of the public service must materially depend upon the selection of the officer to be appointed to the command of that detachment; and the high sense which Government entertains of your approved zeal, judgment, and abilities, added to the advantages of your professional talents, your military and political experience in that quarter of India, and your intimate knowledge of the condition, interests and relations of the various petty States situated between the Jumna and the Indus—renders the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council anxious to vest in your hands the duties connected with the command of the proposed detachment. His Lordship in Council therefore, confidently trusting that your characteristic zeal for the interests of the public service will induce you to undertake with alacrity the execution of those important duties, has been pleased to appoint you to the command of the proposed detachment.

2. The service in question being of a nature peculiarly urgent, I am directed to express to you the desire of the Governor-General in Council that you will deliver over charge of the garrison of Illahabad to the officer next in command, and proceed with the utmost practicable expedition to Muttra and to Delhi.

3. At one or other of those stations you may be expected to meet His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with whom it is of importance that you should have an opportunity of communicating, and a principal object of suggesting your visit to Delhi is that you may be enabled to communicate personally with the Resident and obtain access to all the documents and correspondence connected with the objects of the service on which you are to be employed.

4. On your arrival at Delhi, you will receive the instructions of Government for the guidance of your conduct on all points connected with the political branch of your duties. On those exclusively of a military nature, you will of course be furnished with the necessary orders by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Necessity for advance of a force to the Sutlej.

5. I am directed to desire that in replying to this dispatch you will be pleased to specify the time you expect to be enabled to reach the station of Muttra or Delhi.

6. I am further instructed to desire that you will observe the utmost secrecy respecting the object of your proceeding to Delhi.

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2. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Lieut.-Colonel OCHTERLONY,—dated Fort William, the 18th of November 1808.*

THE Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, having taken into consideration the allowances which you are to draw while exercising the duties vested in you by the resolution of Government communicated to you in my letter of the 14th instant,[1] I am directed to signify to you that the arrangement therein described is not intended to affect the salary which you at present receive as Commandant of Illahabad or the civil allowance which you were authorized to draw by the orders of Government of the 5th of June 1806. These you will continue to draw in addition to the military allowances attached to the situation of an officer of your rank on command; and, in consideration of the political duties which the command of the proposed detachment is expected to involve, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to grant to you a further allowance of five hundred rupees per mensem to be included in the Durbar accounts of the Resident at Delhi.

Allowances to be drawn by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

[1] *1 supra.*

3. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated Fort William, the 26th of December 1808.*

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches. In consequence of the information conveyed in those dispatches, I now proceed to state to you the instructions of Government for the regulation of your proceedings in your communications with the Sikh Chiefs on the subject of the advance of the detachment formed at Kurnaul into their country, in the event of any objection on the part of any of those Chiefs arising, either from the obligations which may have been imposed upon them by Rajah Runjeet Sing during his late expedition or from any other cause, observing, however, in the first instance, that, under all circumstances, it is the intention of the Governor-General in Council not only that the detachment now forming shall advance to the proposed position, but that any number of troops that either now or hereafter may be required to advance in that direction shall proceed through the territory of those Chiefs.

2. No doubt can be entertained that the Chiefs in question are still anxious to be placed under the protection of the British Power. That the engagement concluded by the Rajah of Putteealah with Rajah Runjeet Sing, as well as every other accommodation which the latter has been enabled to effect with the Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, has been compulsory would be evident from the nature of the transaction, independently even of the distinct avowal to that effect which you have received from the Rajah of Putteealah and others. That avowal at the same time is advantageous on the present occasion as a ground of assertion. But, however desirous the Rajah of Putteealah may be to exchange his compulsory connection with the Rajah of Lahore—a connection which places him in a state of absolute subjection to the latter—for the security and independence which he will derive from the protection of the British Power, it may be doubted whether he will at once throw off the mask and renounce his engagements with the Rajah of Lahore and

openly and avowedly accept the protection of the British Power; and the same observation is applicable to the other Chiefs who have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Runjeet Sing.

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

3. At the moment when the Rajah of Lahore at the head of a powerful army on this side of the Sutledge menaced the subjugation of these Chiefs, they would without doubt readily have accepted the protection of the British Government in whatever manner we might think proper to afford it. But the immediate exigency being removed by the Rajah's retreat, the Rajah of Putteealah, if not the other Sikh Chiefs, will probably object to the advance of our troops, confident that the Rajah of Lahore will not venture to exercise over them the rights of sovereignty under a declaration on the part of the British Government that they are subject to its protection, and, depending on the seasonable aid of that Government in a future case of exigency, they may perhaps be satisfied with that declaration and desire that the march of our troops may be suspended until a renewal of aggression on the part of the Rajah shall render it necessary.

4. At the time when they first solicited the protection of the British Government against the apprehended designs of the Rajah of Lahore, they were led with reluctance to propose the advance of a limited number of troops, manifesting under the pressure of that apprehension a jealousy of the introduction of British troops into their country. They must be expected therefore to be influenced in a greater degree by that sentiment of jealousy now that the crisis of their danger is past, in addition to which they may possibly desire to preserve the appearance of fidelity to the engagements which they have contracted with the Rajah by withholding their avowed concurrence in an arrangement which would indicate a direct violation of them; and this remark is especially applicable to the Rajah of Putteealah, who has been compelled to contract an alliance with the Rajah of Lahore under circumstances of peculiar solemnity. This therefore is the

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

state of things for which it is necessary to provide. I have already signified to you the determination of Government upon this question, and it only remains to suggest the representations with which the execution is to be accompanied.

5. It is obvious to remark that a reciprocity of advantage must form the foundation of every arrangement between a Government and its allies, its dependants or its subjects. The second of these relations is that in which the Sikh Chiefs are now placed towards the British Government, and the preservation of their rights depends upon its protection. The terms upon which that protection should be extended to the party which solicits it may be a matter of convention, but if offered on one side and accepted on the other without any corresponding demand or concession, the protecting power has a right to prescribe the mode in which its protection shall be exercised, provided that it involves no injury to the acknowledged rights of the dependent State. At the present moment the British Government demands no sacrifice on the part of the Sikh Chiefs for the protection which they are anxious to secure. But the protection of one State by another, especially when arms and burthensome means are to be employed, can never be understood to be gratuitous, and in cases where no specific remuneration is stipulated a common interest must be presumed to form the inducement to the particular measure, as well as to constitute the foundation on which the general relations of protection and dependance and the reciprocal claims of benefit derived from them are established. In this particular instance the British Government would be obviously divested of all interest in its relation to the Sikh Chiefs, and no pretence of reciprocity would remain if measures were opposed which are essential to the security of that Government, and at the same time not only compatible with, but highly favourable to, the reasonable views of the other party. Of this description of measures unquestionably is the free introduction of our troops into the territory of the Sikh Chiefs,—a measure necessary to the efficiency of that protection which we have consented to

afford them, and to the full attainment of the reciprocal benefits of the arrangement. This privilege therefore, which is the more reasonable because the known principles of the British Government and the experienced regularity and discipline of its troops must preclude all apprehension of injury from the exercise of it, cannot be relinquished. It can be resisted indeed only under the influence of that jealousy and suspicion which are incompatible with a cordial union of interests, or under the allegation of engagements admitted to have been compulsory.

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

6. The British Government being resolved under any circumstances to preclude the extension of the Rajah of Lahore's dominion on this side of the Sutledge, it cannot be admissible to menace the refusal of our protection to the Sikh Chiefs against the future aggressions of the Rajah as the alternative of their opposition to the privilege which we claim, but it may justly be observed that the British Government can alone undertake the defence of the territories on this side the Sutledge by actually advancing its troops to the frontier and by possessing the means of forming any other military arrangements in that direction that the exigency of which, or prospective events, may appear to require.

7. In addition, however, to the arguments which the preceding observations are intended to supply, the Governor-General in Council deems it proper that, in the event to which they are applicable of any of the Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge making a show of adhering to Rajah Runjeet Sing or of their opposing or objecting to the advance of our troops, you should state distinctly the plain and true principle of the proposed system of proceeding, namely, that the British Government does not admit of Rajah Runjeet Sing's extending his power beyond the Sutledge, and that those Chiefs who acknowledge his dominion on this side of that boundary must be considered as openly counteracting the views of this Government in a point equally essential to their own security and the tranquillity of the British territories;

that their conduct must therefore be considered as founded on principles hostile to the British Government and as such must be controuled and may perhaps be resented by the British Power.

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

8. The only real objection which the Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge can reasonably be supposed to have to the introduction of British troops into their territories is that which originates in a sentiment of jealousy, which must necessarily be overruled: such of those Chiefs (and especially the Rajah of Putteealah) who have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Rajah of Lahore may be expected, under the double influence of that sentiment and of a desire ostensibly to maintain the faith of their compulsory obligations, to withhold a direct acquiescence in the proposed measure, but without any diminution of their solicitude to secure the protection of this Government against future aggressions. It is highly improbable, however, that they should attempt to oppose any serious obstacle to the advance of the troops, or that the Rajah of Putteealah should venture to resist or should desire to obtain the support of the Rajah of Lahore in resisting the establishment of a military post within the territory subject to his authority; but, in whatever degree they may appear indisposed to the prosecution of the intended system of measures, it will be proper that you should distinctly state to them the principles and arguments above described and give them to understand that no considerations will induce the British Government to abandon the policy which it has now resolved to adopt.

9. According to the resolution now adopted, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be immediately requested to order the advance of the detachment whenever it may be prepared to proceed without reference to the declared sentiments of the Chiefs through whose territories it will have occasion to pass. At the same time from the tenor of this dispatch you will judge the intention of Government to be that every effort should be employed to reconcile those

Chiefs to the measures in progress and to induce them to afford every accommodation and facility to the march of the troops, assuming in your communications with them, as the fundamental principle and object of the arrangement, the combination of their interest with those of the British power and the protection of their rights and territories against aggression on the part of Rajah Runjeet Sing or any other power, and you will be enabled to hold out a powerful inducement to their voluntary acquiescence in the advance of the troops by referring to the resolution of Government to require the evacuation of the places which Runjeet Sing has occupied on this side the Sutledge and to restore them to their original possessors.

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs desiring the protection of the British Government.

10. You will be pleased to conduct all your proceedings connected with the measures now in agitation in concert and communication with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to whose suggestions and advice on all points you will consider it your duty to attend. A copy of this dispatch will be immediately transmitted to His Excellency for his information, and the Governor-General in Council will at the same time communicate to His Excellency the sentiments and wishes of Government on the measures to be pursued with respect to those places on this side of the Sutledge which have been lately seized and are at present occupied by the troops of the Rajah of Lahore.

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4. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony,—dated Fort William, the 29th of December 1808.*

Agreeably to the intimation contained in my letter of the 14th ultimo [1] to your address, I now proceed, under the direction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, to communicate to you such instructions as are considered to be necessary for the guidance of your conduct on points connected with the political branch of the duties of your present employment.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

[1] 1 *supra.*

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

2. Of the state of affairs as connected with the proceedings of the Rajah of Lahore and of the views and intentions of Government with respect to the Rajah and to the other Sikh Chiefs, you will have obtained the completest information from the documents to which you will have had access at Delhi. It is unnecessary therefore to convey to you any communications on those points in the present dispatch.

3. It is obviously impossible to provide specifically for the various events which may occur in the quarter in which you are now to be employed, and it will therefore at present be sufficient to explain the general objects to which your attention is to be directed according to the spirit of the views and intentions of Government as fully described in my dispatches to the Resident at Delhi and to the Envoy to the Court of Lahore.

4. The Governor-General in Council being satisfied not only that no essential advantage is now to be derived from the residence of an Envoy on the part of Government at the Court of the Rajah of Lahore, but that under present circumstances his continuance is calculated to produce inconvenience and embarrassment, has resolved to withdraw the Mission when the intended military post near the Sutledge shall have been established by means of the detachment placed under your command, and the necessary instructions upon this subject will be immediately issued to Mr. Metcalfe. When Mr. Metcalfe shall have withdrawn, your local situation near the frontier of that country will be favourable to the conduct of any communications with the Court of Lahore or with any of the Chiefs and subjects of that State which the course of events and transactions may render necessary, and in that situation you will probably have the means of watching the proceedings of the Rajah of Lahore and of acquiring intelligence of any transactions and occurrences in that quarter of which the knowledge may be of importance to the British interests. It is proper at the same time to notice that, as the duties now described are considered, from the convenience of your local position, as incidental to your present command, so,

if events should require an increase of force to such an extent as must necessarily place the command of the troops in the hands of an officer of a rank superior to yours, the political branch of the duties (just alluded to) will devolve of course, as being naturally attached to the command of the troops, on that officer.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

5. The Rajah of Lahore will be apprized that you are instructed to receive any communications he may wish to make to this Government when Mr. Metcalfe shall have quitted his Court, and to address any representations to him which the state of affairs may appear to require. The Governor-General in Council having now no immediate object in view at that Court, such communications must be incidental, and consequently cannot form a subject of specific instruction at the present moment; and any propositions which you may receive from the Rajah of Lahore must of course be referred to the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. You will collect from the documents to which you will have had access that Government, although at present desirous of maintaining the relations of amity with the Rajah of Lahore, is anxious to avoid incurring any obligation which might embarrass the prosecution of any system of measures eventually dictated by the exigency of the public interests. In any communications therefore which you may eventually hold with the Court of Lahore you will be careful to withhold any declarations or professions of a nature to impose such obligations on the British Government. This precaution, however, need not exclude the ordinary expressions of an amicable disposition towards the State of Lahore.

6. Your situation will probably enable you to acquire information regarding the nature and resources of the country of the Punjaub in a military point of view, the temper and disposition of its Chiefs and inhabitants, and other subjects of a military and political nature in that direction; and you will accordingly consider it an object of your attention to obtain information on points of this description.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

7. The spirit of disaffection to the person and government of Rajah Runjeet Sing among his subjects and dependent Chiefs renders it probable that you may receive, from persons of that description whose possessions are situated beyond the Sutledge, propositions of attachment to the British Government in a sense adverse to the interests of the Rajah, and even of direct revolt. On such occasions, if they should arise, it will be advisable to decline any present acquiescence in propositions of that tendency, without excluding, however, the possibility that future events may render them acceptable. You will, however, at the same time refer any propositions of that nature to the consideration of the Governor-General in Council.

8. You will observe from the tenor of my dispatch to the Resident at Delhi of the 26th instant, [1] which Mr. Seton will communicate to you, that Government has taken into consideration and provided for the effects of the compulsory engagement lately exacted by Rajah Runjeet Sing from the Rajah of Putteealah and other Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, and that the late transactions will not be allowed to affect the operation of the resolution, which, previously to a knowledge of them, Government had adopted of assuming the protection of the Chiefs in question. On the other hand, it cannot be supposed that these Chiefs will be unwilling to accept that protection, although, for the reasons stated in my dispatch to Mr. Seton, they may be averse to the advance of the British troops into their territory. But the interest which they naturally have in preferring a dependence upon the British power to a state of submission to the sovereignty of the Rajah of Lahore precludes all apprehensions that the sentiments of jealousy and suspicion at the introduction of our troops into their territory will supersede those of attachment to the power which protects them. At the same time it will obviously form an essential part of your duty to maintain towards these Chiefs a system of conduct calculated to convince them of the groundless nature of these sentiments,

[1] 3 *supra*.

and to lead them to appreciate the full benefit of our protection without considering as burthensome or injurious the mode in which this Government thinks proper to afford it.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

9. The benefit which the British Government is to expect from the present system of its declared relation to the Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge is to secure the advantages, facilities and resources of the country in the prosecution of any military arrangements and operations that events may render necessary, and to substitute a connection with a confederacy of Chiefs rendered grateful by benefits and attached to us by the ties of mutual interest for the vicinity of an independent and ambitious military power. With this view, an indulgent attention to the interests and concerns of these Chiefs, a cautious forbearance from any measures and proceedings calculated to excite their apprehensions and alarm their suspicions, to invade their rights or to offend their prejudices, are important points of policy.

10. It will be necessary at a future time to determine with more precision than is at present practicable the exact nature of the relations of protection and dependence which shall be permanently established between the British Government and the Chiefs, and you are desired to furnish Government with all the information that you can collect applicable to this question, and to communicate such opinions upon the subject as are suggested to you by local observation. In the meantime, while you will assure them merely of present protection against Rajah Runjeet Sing and of the resolution of Government to divest him of his recent usurpations on this side of the Sutledge, it will be proper to intimate to them, 1st, that their cordial and active co-operation will be required for the defence of their country both now and in the event of any future invasion of it, against which it may be thought proper to employ British troops; and, 2ndly, that no subsidy or pecuniary contribution will be demanded for our aid on the present occasion. But this last intimation must be conveyed in such terms as not to preclude us from requiring at any future time, if it should be thought expedient, that

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

they should contribute to the expense of any expedition to be undertaken by this Government for the defence and protection of their country.

11. In the condition of dependence in which these Chiefs will now be placed towards the British Government they may be expected to refer the adjustment of their concerns collectively or relatively to one another to the power which protects them. With regard to all questions of this nature, or in any manner affecting the interests of these Chiefs, or, as connected with them the interests of the British Government, it will of course be necessary that you should act in concert and communication with the Resident at Delhi. You will be pleased, however, to correspond directly with the Political Department of this Government as well as with the Resident at Delhi, transmitting to the latter copies of your dispatches to the former, and you will convey to Government regular reports of the progress and proceedings of the detachment under your command as well as of all transactions of a political nature.

12. You will observe from the dispatch to Mr. Seton, to which I have referred in the 8th paragraph, that the detachment will eventually be employed in resuming the conquests made by Rajah Runjeet Sing on this side of the Sutledge during his late expedition, and that you will receive instructions from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief regarding the operations of the detachment in the accomplishment of that object.

13. You will of course convey to the Commander-in-Chief also regular reports of the progress and proceedings of the detachment. During His Excellency's continuance in a position which may enable him to superintend the affairs of that quarter, the Resident at Delhi will be instructed to communicate to His Excellency your reports to Government on all points of a political nature, and you will consider it your duty to attend to any suggestions that you may receive from His Excellency on points of that nature.

14. One object of your attention should be to take advantage of the movement of the detachment and of your local situation in the country of the Sikhs to obtain accurate information regarding the disposition, character, condition and military strength of the several Chiefs and the mode in which their power might be advantageously combined in any system of defensive arrangement against an invading enemy, or of military operations, if the conduct of the Rajah of Lahore should compel us to prosecute hostilities against him.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

15. Until Mr. Metcalfe's departure from the Court of Lahore you will maintain a regular correspondence with him, and you will receive from him the communication of any occurrences and transactions of which it may be expedient that you should be apprized.

16. You are authorized to entertain such an establishment of moonshees, writers and servants as may be necessary to enable you to conduct the duties of your situation, transmitting a statement of it for the confirmation of Government.

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5. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated Fort William, the 29th of December 1808.*

I AM directed to transmit to you the enclosed dispatch to the address of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, and to request that it may be forwarded to him. A copy of it is also enclosed for your information and guidance.

2. You will observe that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony is referred to you for a communication of the instructions issued to you under date the 26th instant, and you will accordingly be pleased to allow him access to my dispatch of that date or to transmit to him a copy of it, if he should not be at Delhi.

3. That part of the enclosed instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony which prescribes the nature of the intimations to be given to the Chiefs on this side of the

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

Sutledge is intended to provide for the case of his being in a situation to communicate personally with those Chiefs or with the agents whom they may place in attendance on him during his employment with the detachment. In the meantime it may be proper that you should make the same communications to the Vakeels of the Sikh Chiefs who may reside at Delhi, or directly by letter to the Chiefs themselves, if you should judge it expedient with a view to satisfy them regarding the views and intentions of the British Government.

4. Although the destination of the detachment proceeding towards the Sutledge necessarily required that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony should be authorised to communicate with the Sikh Chiefs, you will observe that he is directed to conduct any intercourse he may have with them in concert and communication with you, and you will accordingly be pleased to maintain a regular correspondence with that officer and afford him the benefit of your judgment and opinions on all points in any manner affecting the interests of those Chiefs, or, as connected with them, the interests of the British Government.

5. You will further observe that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony is directed to transmit to you copies of all his dispatches to this Government. Agreeably to the intimation contained in the 13th paragraph of the enclosed document, you will be pleased to communicate copies of those dispatches to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

6. You will further observe that Government has deferred to a future time the determination of the precise nature of the relations which shall be permanently established between the British Government and the Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony has been instructed to furnish Government with all the information he can collect applicable to this question, and to state his opinion upon the subject, derived from local observation. The Governor-General in Council is desirous of receiving from you a similar report, and you will accordingly be pleased to convey

to Government the result of your deliberation on this important question, accompanied with such detailed information as you may possess or may be able to acquire on points connected with it as may serve to aid the judgment of the Governor-General in Council on the subject.

Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the force advancing to the Sutlej.

7. I am directed to take this opportunity of transmitting to you the enclosed copy of my dispatch to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony of the 18th ultimo, [1] from which you will observe that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to grant to that officer an allowance of 500 rupees per mensem payable from the Treasury at Delhi, which sum you will accordingly be pleased to pay to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony monthly from the period of his assuming the command of the detachment and include the charge in your Durbar accounts.

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6. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated Dehli, the 11th of January 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 26th ultimo, [2] with its enclosures, signifying the sentiments of Government regarding the march about to proceed towards the Sutledge and the expediency of speedily resuming the late usurpations of Runjeet Sing on the left bank of that river.

Advance of a force to the Sutlej. Action taken by the Resident at Delhi.

2. The dispatch in question reached me yesterday, and, in conformity to the orders which it contained, I immediately forwarded to Lahore the letter of instructions addressed to Mr. Metcalfe. I also transmitted a copy of those instructions to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by a letter from myself to his address, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose.

[1] 2 *supra.*
[2] 3 *supra.*

Advance of a force to the Sutlej. Action taken by the Resident at Delhi.

3. In explanation of such part of that letter as relates to my sense of the expediency of authorising the advance of the detachment as soon as it is in a state of complete preparation, it may be necessary to observe that, in taking the liberty most respectfully to offer that opinion for the consideration of His Excellency, I was no less guided by what appeared to me to be the intentions of Government than by an attentive observation of the present state of affairs at Lahore, and by the general expectation entertained by natives of all descriptions in this quarter. The communications and requisitions made to Runjeet Sing are well known to them, and I am persuaded that long hesitation on our part, notwithstanding non-compliance on his, would make an unfavorable impression. Runjeet Sing himself, who evidently seeks procrastination, might be encouraged, by long delay, to deviate from that unconditional compliance which he has promised, and even to determine upon actual resistance. This in my humble opinion would be unfavorable, as, after having had recourse to actual hostilities, a cordial reconciliation on his part might be rendered more difficult than ever. It is therefore not with the view of *preventing* that crisis, but of preventing it in a manner which shall evince the decided superiority of the power of the British Government that I have hazarded the opinion, the grounds of which it is the object of the present remarks most respectfully to explain. It may further be observed that, in the event of Runjeet Sing's having it really in contemplation to resist, longer delay would give him the means of making with his subordinate Surdars those arrangements which could alone enable him to undertake with effect a mischievous and predatory warfare; while from the British Government being now at peace with all the Native powers, and from the most perfect tranquillity prevailing in every part of its dominions, no moment could be more favorable than the present for enabling it to direct its whole and undivided force against Runjeet Sing, and thereby to evince to him, at once, the folly of seeking to resist the fair and reasonable expostulations of that Government on the subject of his unwarrantable conduct and his oppressive usurpations at the expense of

those whom it considers itself bound to protect. It appears worthy of remark, and may perhaps be regarded as an index of Runjeet Sing's real intentions, that, notwithstanding his late milder language to Mr. Metcalfe, it does not appear that he has yet taken a single step either for the discontinuance of his military preparations or for the evacuation and restitution of the places seized by him on the left bank of the Sutledge during his late expedition. Under these circumstances, he cannot be surprised at the advance of a British detachment towards his frontier for the mere purpose of eventually acting in a country to which he has no rightful claim, but without any hostile intention against *his dominions* properly so called.

Advance of a force to the Sutlej. Action taken by the Resident at Delhi.

4. As I considered it desirable that intelligent Vackeels on the part of the petty Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge should accompany the detachment for the purpose of maintaining a friendly intercourse between the Commanding Officer and their masters, and as most of the Chiefs in question had *two* Vackeels at Dehli, I deemed it expedient to direct the most intelligent of them to proceed to Kurnaul and to accompany Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony on his advancing from thence, which they accordingly did. I think it likely that on the detachment moving into the Sikh country the presence of these persons will be found useful.

Association of Vakils of Sikh Chiefs with Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

5. The latest intelligence from Mr. Metcalfe is that of the 30th ultimo, the nature of which is already known to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I shall make it an invariable rule to communicate to His Excellency without delay such information as may reach me respecting the state of matters at Lahore.

6. It were almost superfluous to add an assurance that the most prompt and implicit attention shall be paid by me to such instructions and suggestions as I may receive from His Excellency, and that upon this important occasion it shall be my unceasing endeavour to give in every respect the fullest and most efficient effect to the plans and orders of Government.

7. *From the Assistant Adjutant-General to Lieut.-Colonel* OCHTERLONY, *Commanding a Detachment,—dated Head Quarters, Camp Dowlutpur, Zillah Seharunpoor, the 12th January 1809.*

Instructions for the advance of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

THE Commander-in-Chief deeming it advisable from the tenor of the communication received by you from Mr. Metcalfe, Envoy at Lahore, under date the 5th instant, that a detachment under your command should be ordered to advance, I am directed by His Excellency to forward the following instructions for your guidance :—

1. Having crossed the Jumna in obedience to Colonel Marshall's orders, with the 4th Regiment of Cavalry and the 2nd Infantry Brigade, consisting of the 2nd Battalion 10th, 1st Battalion 23rd, and 1st Battalion 27th, and detail of Pioneers under Lieutenant Hay, you will proceed with all convenient expedition, with the detachment under your command, to the vicinity of Putteealah by such route as you may judge best.

2. On receipt of this letter you will be pleased to take measures for obtaining correct information respecting the force belonging to Rajah Runjeet Sing of Lahore, which has been for some time past at Umballa.

3. In the event of those troops being still at Umballa, His Excellency desires you will require the person in command of them to return across the river Sutledge, and in the event of his non-compliance with your requisition, the Commander-in-Chief desires that you will use your best endeavours for expelling them from the country between the Jumna and Sutledge rivers, provided you shall be satisfied from the information you may obtain that the force placed under your command is fully adequate to this service. But in the event of your being of a different opinion, His Excellency desires you will halt in a convenient situation and make application to Colonel Marshall, Commanding at Chilkanah, to advance with the force under his command for the purpose of accomplishing the objects of these instructions.

4. In the event of your receiving information that the troops of Rajah Runjeet Sing have retired from Umballa for the purpose of repassing the Sutledge, you will be pleased to send a sufficient patrol for the purpose of satisfying yourself as to the correctness of such information.

Instructions for the advance of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

5. His Excellency desires you will correspond daily with Mr. Metcalfe, with Head Quarters, and with Colonel Marshall, and that you will not advance beyond the vicinity of Putteealah unless particularly urged to do so by Mr. Metcalfe, with whose requisitions in such cases His Excellency desires you will comply, but on no account to pass the Sutledge without further orders from Head Quarters.

6. His Excellency desires you will lay a dawk, with *hurkaras* at each stage, upon the route of your march, in communication with the dawk at Chilkanah.

7. You are to proceed with supplies sufficient for the consumption of your detachment for a week, and always to keep up that quantity as far as may be practicable by purchase.

8. Whenever supplies in sufficient quantities can be procured from other sources by the aid of such bazars as may be in readiness to accompany the detachment, the store above mentioned is not to be resorted to. In failure of other supplies, the requisite quantity is to be issued to the regimental or battalion bazars, to be retailed to the troops at the current price of the country, unless that price should be at any time less than 20 seers of atta for the rupee, when it is to be supplied at that rate, 20 seers per rupee, to the troops.

9. His Excellency desires you will cause the detachment to move as lightly equipped as may be practicable consistently with the comfort of officers and troops, and that you will take with you such a small supply only of public money as may be necessary for any probable expenditure on the public account.

10. The Commander-in-Chief desires you will ascertain, previous to your march, that the requisite provision of every

Instructions for the advance of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

kind has been properly made in the department of the Grain Agent, and those of the Agent and contractors for public cattle, and for victualling the European troops.

11. His Excellency relies on your preserving the most perfect discipline and good order in the detachment under your command, and desires you will exert your own utmost endeavours to conciliate the Chiefs and inhabitants of the country in which you may be employed, and require officers and men under your command to aid and assist you in those endeavours.

12. The Commander-in-Chief requests you will forward to Head Quarters a present state return of your detachment as soon as practicable after passing the Jumna.

13. The Commander-in-Chief requests you will address friendly letters to the several Sikh Chieftains possessing the countries through which you may pass or adjacent to your route, informing them of the march of your detachment and requesting their assistance in furnishing all requisite supplies.

14. His Excellency directs me to refer you to the instructions already forwarded to your address under date the 25th ultimo, and to desire that you will consider them still in force and act accordingly in every case not otherwise provided for in the subsequent instructions or orders.

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8. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier,—dated Dehli, the 12th January 1809.*

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

BY last night's dawk I had the honor to forward to you a political dispatch of the 26th ultimo from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to your address.

2. In conformity to the orders of Government, I now have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a dispatch of the same date [1] from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to my address, on

[1] 3 *supra.*

the subject of our political relations with the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and the line of conduct which it is the intention of the British Government to observe towards them.

Policy to be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

3. With reference to such part of the instructions contained in the 11th paragraph of Mr. Edmonstone's letter to your address as relates to myself, I beg leave to assure you that I shall consider it as a most pleasing and important part of my duty to communicate with you in the most unreserved manner on the subject of your political negotiation, and to furnish you as speedily as possible with copies of any of the records of the Residency which you may be pleased to apply for or which from my knowledge of their tenor may appear to me to contain information which may be eventually useful to you.

4. Being of opinion that your being attended by such Vackeels on the part of those Chiefs as, from their general intelligence as well as from their knowledge of our character and our manner of conducting business, may eventually be of service in enabling you to keep up a friendly intercourse with their masters, I thought it expedient, some time ago, to direct the Vackeels of the Chiefs in question to proceed to Kurnaul to join you there, and accompany you when you should advance towards Putteealah, which they accordingly did. I at the same time communicated information of the measure to the Chiefs and explained the object and motives thereof. I understand the Vackeels have now joined you in camp. A list of their names is transmitted herewith. As they have long resided at Dehli, I am persuaded that their zeal and exertions will acquire additional animation from their personal knowledge of you, and from those feelings of respect and attachment which that knowledge is calculated to inspire.

5. *Having been instructed* by Government to furnish His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with an accurate list of the places seized by Runjeet Sing between the Jumna and the Sutledge during his late expedition, I transmitted to Head Quarters the most accurate account which I could

obtain. A copy of it accompanies this letter. Being diffident, however, as to its complete accuracy, I have requested Mr. Metcalfe to transmit to His Excellency as perfect a list as may be procurable.

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9. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated the 15th of January 1809.*

Advance of force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

I HAVE this day been informed on the part of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that he had authorized the immediate advance of the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony. His Excellency at the same time acquainted me that the advance had been authorized at the recommendation of Mr. Metcalfe, and that gentleman had informed him that Runjeet Sing had actually dispatched orders to withdraw the detachment of his troops from Umballa,—a circumstance which leads me to conclude that the intelligence stated in the Putteealah newspaper of the 9th instant, to which I adverted in my letter of yesterday to the Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief (a copy of which accompanied my letter of the same date to your address), was well founded.

Directions to the Chief of Jhind to join Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

2. I this day received a letter from Rajah Bhaug Sing communicating his arrival at Kurnaul and asking me whether I would advise him to proceed to Dehli according to his original plan, or to repair to Colonel Ochterlony. As it forcibly struck me that, under existing circumstances, the presence of the Rajah would be much more useful with the detachment under Colonel Ochterlony than at Dehli, I recommended to him to join that officer without delay. A copy and translation of my letter to him upon this occasion are transmitted enclosed.

3. I also have the honor to enclose a copy and translation of a letter which, with reference to the present state of affairs, I have this day addressed to Rajah Saheb Sing of Putteealah.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 9.

Translation of a letter from the Resident at Dehli to Rajah BHAUG SING, *written the 15th January 1809.*

Letter from the Resident at Delhi to the Chief of Jhind.

I HAVE just received your friendly letter acquainting me that you had proceeded to Kurnaul in the hope of meeting Colonel Ochterlony, but that, on your arrival there, you found he had left that place and repaired to Chilkanah, and you conclude by asking whether it would be advisable that you should proceed to Chilkanah to meet Colonel Ochterlony, or that you should come to Dehli.

After your late long journeys, it gives me sincere pleasure to find that you are in good health and have reached Kurnaul in safety. I know your merits, and am a sincere well-wisher to you and yours.

You ask me whether I would advise you to proceed to Colonel Ochterlony or to repair to me at Dehli. My friend, you must be sensible that nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see you; but, as a desire to gratify one's self must ever give way to public business and to a sense of propriety, and as upon the present occasion your being with Colonel Ochterlony, who, as well as myself, is an old friend of yours, appears to me to be desirable, I think it best to deny myself the pleasure of seeing you at Dehli and to recommend to you to join Colonel Ochterlony. You must have a perfect recollection of the representations which you repeatedly made to me in March last when at Dehli, and must be convinced that the first and immediate object of the measures now adopting by the British Government is the security and preservation of yourself, Rajah Saheb Sing, Bhye Laul Sing and the other Sikh Surdars on this side of the Sutledge, who have deserved well of that Government. It is, therefore, highly proper that you should accompany Colonel Ochterlony when he proceeds towards the Sutledge with the detachment which is now about to march for your benefit. I recommend to you, therefore, to proceed to him as speedily as possible.

Letter from the Resident at Delhi to the Chief of Jhind.

Should you have anything to communicate to me, I request that you will state it in a letter and deliver to Colonel McGrath, by whom it will be forwarded to me. Whatever it be, you will of course make it known to Colonel Ochterlony when you reach his camp. With him you should have no reserve. I enclose a letter, which I request you will present to him on your arrival.

I sincerely wish you a safe journey and a speedy and happy meeting with Colonel Ochterlony.

P. S.—When you see or write to your son Koor Pertaub Sing, I request to be remembered to him in the kindest manner. I hope he has not forgotten me. I recollect with great pleasure our late meeting at Dehli.

Enclosure (2) to 9.

Translation of a letter written on the 15th January 1809 by the Resident at Dehli, to Rajah Saheb Sing of Putteealah.

(After the usual complimentary exordium.)

Letter from the Resident at Delhi to the Chief of Patiála.

On the 14th of this month I acknowledged a letter from you which reached me on the preceding day. You will no doubt have received it. Your proved attachment to the British Government is well known to its rulers, and is a source of great gratification to them. They will ever take the most lively interest in your safety and welfare. It is known to all that, in conformity to this sentiment, the principal object of the measure now carrying into effect by that Government is the maintenance of the security and prosperity of yourself, Rajah Bhaug Sing, Bhye Laul Sing and other Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, who have claims on its protection. This being the case, there cannot be a doubt that when Colonel Ochterlony proceeds towards the Sutledge with a detachment assembled for your preservation you will evince the most unequivocal marks of zealous and unalterable attachment of the British Government.

Continue to consider me as your friend, and to rejoice me with good accounts of yourself.

10. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—No. 1, dated Camp Dadoopore, 4 miles north of Booreah, west bank of the Jumna, the 16th of January 1809.*

Progress of force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that in consequence of orders from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief I marched this morning with the force under my command from Chilkanah and crossed the Jumna at a very fine ford about five miles above Booreah and am now encamped on the western bank of the Jumna.

2. I have just received a visit from the Dewan of Bugwan Sing of Booreah, accompanied by the nephew of the latter, a boy of about ten years of age, who delivered me a letter from his uncle expressive of his high satisfaction that the British Government has assumed the protection of the country, and assuring me that he should soon seek a personal interview, though recent circumstances had compelled him to submit to a temporising policy, and he now was with Mohkum Sing on the west bank of the Sutledge at Philour or Ludeeana Ghaut. Goordut Sing writes me from his place, Ladooah, where he arrived two days since, in terms of friendship, but seems to entertain expectations and refers me for information to a Vakeel who will hereafter attend.

3. Rajah Bhaug Sing is on his way to join me from Kurnaul.

4. Bhunga Sing, and Cheyn Sing, the Dewan of Sahib Sing, are reported to have left Putteealah, and I think it improbable that any Chief on this side of the Sutledge can be so blind to his own interest as to embrace the cause of Runjeet in any determination he may have formed to resist the British power; nor would it perhaps be either politic or just in this early stage to consider men as his adherents who are merely associated from necessity.

5. Time and information will disclose those who are cordially attached, if any are so, and till then I shall consider

Progress of force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

all as friends, observing in a military point of view every precaution.

6. I have issued the most positive orders against plundering, and shall take the utmost care that their prejudices are not offended.

7. With many I am personally acquainted, and I am persuaded they are generally so well informed of my disposition and character as to know that I will not encourage false hopes or groundless pretensions, nor attempt to allure by false promises.

8. It appears to me, however, as a very probable event that the Rajah of Lahore may descend from the high tone he originally assumed, and so far perceive his true interest as to make a voluntary offer of the principal and original objects of Mr. Metcalfe's mission unclogged and unembarrassed by any stipulations. Should his jealousy, yielding to apprehension or converted into confidence in the known good faith of the British Government, induce him to solicit those points which he would not at first concede, I beg to be informed if such proposals are also to be referred for the decision of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, or whether I am authorized to form any treaty, and on what basis.

9. I have just received the directions of Colonel Marshall, under the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to halt on the ground till further orders.

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11. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, Fort William,—No. 2, dated Camp Dadoopore, west bank of the Jumna, the 18th of January 1809.*

Arrival of Gurdit Singh of Ladwa in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's camp.

IN continuation of my letter under date the 16th instant,[1] I have now the honor to inform you that the Vakeel of Goordut Sing, Ladooah, arrived yesterday in my camp, but has not yet entered into any explanation of his master's views or intentions.

[1] 10 *supra*.

2. It cannot have escaped the recollection of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General that the hostile conduct of this Chief and his avowed enmity to the British name and Government occasioned his expulsion from Kurnaul and the small district of Junjana in the Dooab, and that in a conference with Mr. Metcalfe he is declared by the Rajah of Lahore to be "regarded as a Father." Under these circumstances it is unlikely that Goordut Sing should be influenced by any motive but self-interest to co-operate with a British force, and in as far as his possessions are on this side of the Sutledge that self-interest is evidently in our favor.

3. This Chief, however, in common with many others who have been considered friends, and some who have received large grants from the British Government (Bhye Lall Sing and Rajah Bhaug Sing), has benefited very considerably by the encroachments of Runjeet Sing, and, though his Vakeel has not yet entered on the real objects of his mission, I am fully convinced that he will solicit a confirmation of the grants which have been made to him by that Chief, either as a gratuitous reward, a retaining fee, or under certain stipulations of service.

Restoration of usurpations of Ranjit Singh.

4. From the instructions with which I have been honored it appears to be the immediate intention of Government to assume and restore all the conquests of Runjeet Sing during his late expedition in September to the original possessors, and I have received in consequence a list or statement of these recent acquisitions from the Resident at Delhi; but, as the Rajah of Lahore has been long encroaching on the territory on this side of the Sutledge, and occasionally making grants of such acquisitions to his adherents, as in the case of Goordut Sing, some of the Chiefs have consequently been enriched at the expense of others; and those who have benefited by his assumptions will, of course, be adverse to any interference which will deprive them of the advantages they have gained, whilst those who have suffered from his

Restoration of usurpations of Ranjit Singh.

usurpations will be naturally desirous to re-acquire their right.

5. As I am dubious whether it is the intention of Government to take any retrospective view of the encroachments of Runjeet Sing and his bountiful distribution of the property of others, I feel at a loss what reply I shall make either to those Chiefs who are now in possession by his grants or to those who may claim the restitution of their lands on the ground of long established right. For instance, the territory of Roy Illias of Kote Jugraowa and Ludeeana, has been divided amongst Rajah Bhaug Sing, Goordut Sing, Jisswunt Sing and Futteh Sing, Ulloouh, in different proportions, whilst a very small portion is left to the Ranee for her personal expenses.

6. As all these usurpations have taken place and the grants bestowed since the Treaty of Peace with Maha Raja Doulut Rao Scindia, it would seem advisable, on the same principle of justice which demands the restoration of all the districts acquired in his late expedition, that the territory of Kote Jugraowa should be restored to the Ranee,—an act of justice which would afford us all the interest and influence which gratitude could give on the spot which is now deemed the most eligible as a military position, and the command of a fort (Lodeeana) which may prove of the greatest consequence in our future operations.

7. Bhye Lall Sing is now with Runjeet endeavouring to obtain similar favors from the man against whom he was amongst the most solicitous to obtain our protection.

8. I shall submit my doubts on this subject to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Mr. Seton requesting their instructions and sentiments; but, as it is possible the same doubts may have arisen in their minds, and as it strikes me to be of particular importance to obtain early information of the precise intentions and wishes of Government respecting the extent of the retrospect, I have preferred

soliciting an explanation direct through you than risking the least unnecessary delay.

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12. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to the Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated the 18th January 1809.*

I YESTERDAY had the honor to communicate to you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the latest political intelligence which I had received from the Punjaub. Intelligence from the Punjab.

2. In the newspapers which have arrived in the course of this day it is stated that on the 10th instant Rajah Runjeet Sing arrived at Umritser from Lahore, and that Mr. Metcalfe was expected there on the following day. Of the arrival of Runjeet Sing at Umritser, there cannot be a doubt, since the circumstance is mentioned by Jugun Laul, our news-writer at that place. He also states that Mohkum Sing, Dewan, one of the confidential servants of Runjeet Sing, with Jodh Sing of Ramgur and other Surdars and troops, had proceeded to the Sutledge and reached the neighbourhood of Philour on that river, adding that he intended to cross it without delay and join Gaindeh Sing, who commanded at Umballa. It is not easy to reconcile this with the accounts stated in the last newspaper from Putteealah relative to the evacuation of Umballa, which by no means indicates in Runjeet Sing that spirit of hostility which might be inferred from the conduct of his Dewan.

3. Kheyalee Ram, our news-writer at Putteealah, states in his intelligence of the 14th instant that a person by name Bhye Goor Buksh had arrived there on the part of Runjeet Sing for the purpose of desiring Rajah Bhaug Sing, Jeswant Sing and Cheyn Sing (the confidential servant of Rajah Saheb Sing) to attend his master at Umritser. I think it, however, very unlikely (more especially under the

circumstance of the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's detachment) that any part of the requisition will be complied with.

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13. *From A.* SETON, *Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated the 19th of January 1809.*

Refusal of the Raja of Patiála to wait on Ranjit Singh.

IN my dispatch of yesterday to your address I had the honor to observe that a person called Bhye Goor Buksh had arrived at Putteealah on the part of Rajah Runjeet Sing for the purpose of requiring the attendance of Rajah Bhaug Sing, Jeswant Sing and Cheyn Sing (the principal and most confidential officer of Rajah Saheb Sing). From intelligence of a subsequent date it appears that, when the object of Bhye Goor Buksh's visit was explained to Rajah Saheb Sing by Cheyn Sing, the latter observed that Jeswant Sing might go if he chose, but that none of his (Saheb Sing's) people must accompany him, adding: "Rajah Bhaug Sing's having gone to Kurnaul is a most fortunate circumstance," as it furnishes me with an excellent pretext for not sending Cheyn Sing. It is only with the British Government that I have any concern or connection." When Bhye Goor Buksh was introduced to Rajah Saheb Sing, he expressed his astonishment at Rajah Bhaug Sing's having proceeded in such haste to attend the English gentlemen, although he must have heard of his (Bhye Goor Buksh's) deputation. Rajah Saheb Sing replied that Rajah Bhaug Sing could not well avoid going, as he had been repeatedly solicited.

2. I mention these circumstances because in my humble opinion their very minuteness seems to me to evince the partiality of Saheb Sing to the British Government, and plainly to shew the line of conduct which he will adopt in the event of circumstances rendering it necessary for him to take a decided part in the present difference between that Government and Rajah Runjeet Sing.

14. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, Fort William,—No. 3, dated Camp Dadoopore, west bank of the Jumna, the 20th of January 1809.*

Arrival of the Raja of Jhínd in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's camp.

IN my letter of the 17th instant I had the honor to inform you that Rajah Bhaug Sing was on the way to join my camp, and I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that he arrived on the afternoon of the 18th, having been met at a short distance from camp by my Major of Brigade.

2. He yesterday paid me his first visit, when, as usual on these occasions, the conversation turned on general subjects with very little allusion to any matter of sufficient importance to claim a recital. The only thing worthy of notice was a question whether I corresponded with Mr. Metcalfe, and when answered in the affirmative, he requested to know the latest news. I replied that the Rajah promised much, but performed nothing, on which he observed that the Rajah's counsellors disagreed amongst themselves and kept him in a fluctuating state.

3. This day he again sent me word that he intended to call, and, soon after receiving my reply that I should be happy to see him, he waited upon me unattended by any one but a confidential Moonshy and a Vakeel.

Advances made by the Chief of Kalsia and action of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

4. After the usual complimentary enquiries, he informed me that a person from Sirdar Jodh Sing solicited through him an introduction to me in order to ascertain my orders and to explain his master's situation. He went on to state that Jodh Sing, having been long in the service of Runjeet Sing, had received from him many years since a grant of certain land west of the Sutledge, and very recently some other grants on this side the same river; that in consequence of the favors he had received he was unwilling to shew himself the first to desert that Chief, and on that account he wished to be excused paying me a visit at the present

Advances made by the Chief of Kalsia and action of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

moment notwithstanding the camp was so near his residence. He further assured me that it was Jodh Sing's determination, in the event of hostilities, to join the British Army, and that all he wished was to delay our meeting till my arrival at Putteealah, when his conduct would be countenanced and supported by the Surdars in general.

5. I replied to the Rajah that at this moment we were in a state of amity with the Rajah of Lahore, which I hoped would continue, and that so far as related to Jodh Sing I did not wish him unnecessarily to injure himself with Rajah Runjeet Sing; that I respected his character for bravery and general candor, and would readily dispense with his visit at this moment; but, as a proof of his future intentions, I requested a written assurance to that effect and his word as a soldier that, in the event of supplies being sent through his possessions for my camp, he would afford every assistance in his power in forwarding and protecting them if requisite.

Conversation with Raja of Jhínd.

6. I observed in continuation that this was a proper time to inform him what I wished to be generally known, that I had received orders to resume and restore all conquests made by Rajah Runjeet Sing in his late expedition; that of course not only the lands on this side the Sutledge lately granted to Jodh Sing would be restored to the original possessors, but those which he himself and our other friends had obtained at or since that period would share the same fate, for it was to prevent injustice and oppression that we had been invited to interfere, and the security they would obtain in their own ancient possessions would indemnify them for the loss of places which they held at the wile of a man whom they had experienced was actuated only by interest and would not scruple to resume what he had so given or even the districts they had long held.

7. The Rajah did not hesitate to declare himself pleased at my explicit declaration, and congratulated himself that he should lose only four thousand rupees by its being carried

into effect. He then requested to know what was to be done with the earlier conquests of Runjeet Sing, and I frankly told him I had not received orders on that subject, but had applied for them, and till then I did not wish to give any answer for fear of deceiving one party or encouraging another.

Conversation with Raja of Jhínd.

8. I requested Rajah Bhaug Sing to explain all that I had said fully in their own dialect to the Vakeel of Jodh Sing, both as to what related to him and of the resolution to restore all places seized since September, and they left me with the strongest assurances of that Chief's good-will and of his joining me at Putteealah.

9. From the whole of the conversation, which lasted a considerable time, I thought it was evident that the Rajah considered that every Chief on this side the Sutledge would co-operate with us cordially notwithstanding some might sustain loss by the resolution to restore the recent conquests, and it was no less apparent that he thinks Runjeet Sing very desirous to avoid war, though his own never-ceasing jealousy and the counsels of others are not unlikely to involve him in one. It was evident from the whole tenor of the conversation that Rajah Bhaug Singh was anxious for the advance of the detachment and that he thought the Chiefs on this side would not be led to declare themselves till its arrival at Putteealah.

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15. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel David Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier,—dated the 23rd of January 1809.*

I have been honored by the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant to my address, accompanied by copies of your dispatches of the same date to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, and of the 19th to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the subject of the expediency of extending the requisition to Runjeet Sing for the surrender of

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his late usurpations on this side of the Sutledge to such districts as were conquered by him in that quarter *prior* to his late expedition in the latter end of the year 1808.

2. As this appears to me to be a question upon which Government has, in a manner, decided by declaring that the requisition shall, "for the present," be limited to the *late* conquests of Runjeet Sing, by informing Mr. Metcalfe that every question of retrospective restitution is to be "considered as a subject of reference," and by observing in its letter of political instructions to you, under date the 29th December,[1] that "the detachment was to be eventually employed in resuming the conquests made by Runjeet Sing on this side of the Sutledge during his *late* expedition," it strikes me to be the intention of Government that nothing should, "for the present," be done with respect to those acquisitions, which might have a tendency either to alarm Runjeet Sing, or to raise expectation and encouragement in the minds of those from whom the districts in question have been wrested. But, as it is now brought forward as a matter upon which doubts have arisen, and with respect to which Government may be desirous of having the sentiments of its executive officers in this quarter submitted for its consideration, I shall communicate to you without reserve the light in which it appears to me.

3. As by the Treaty of Peace concluded with Dowlut Rao Scindiah in December 1803 "the whole of the territories, rights and interests of that Chief in the countries to the northward of those of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor" were transferred to the British Government, that Government had an unquestionable right to exercise every power of interference which Scindiah had been in the habit of exercising with respect to the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and although the justice, liberality and moderation of its political system induced it to decline that vexatious and pillaging species of interference which is the invariable practice of Native Powers towards weaker and inferior States, and

[1] 4 *supra*.

which Scindiah would unquestionably have exercised had *he* remained in possession of Dehli and its dependencies, still there cannot, I think, be a doubt of the *right* of the British Government to assume the exercise of the power in question the moment that its political security rendered that conduct necessary. The mere non-exercise of a power, while unaccompanied by any declaration, can never be considered as tantamount to the relinquishment of the *right* of exercise.

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4. Until the latter end of the year 1808 this necessity does not appear to have existed. It was then that Runjeet Sing's real character became fully known. It was then that his territorial usurpations, heretofore unconsiderable and remote from the British frontier, assumed, from their increasing magnitude and proximity, an aspect which, by threatening the tranquillity of our provinces, required our immediate interference for the support and protection of the petty Sikh Chiefs in our vicinity, whose power and independence were menaced with annihilation. This interference on our part became the more necessary from the circumstance of Runjeet Sing's having repeatedly declared to the British Envoy in his camp that he considered himself *warranted* to subjugate all the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and from its being evident that the completion of such subjugation made part of the system of that restless, ambitious and oppressive Chieftain.

5. It is indeed true that in the *early* part of the year 1808, when the protecting interference of the British Government was solicited by the greater part of the petty Chiefs in question, the reply which they received to their then application was of a *general* nature; but it is to be observed that it contained an acknowledgment of their merits during the late war which was calculated to raise in their minds an expectation that, in the moment of extreme need, they would not be abandoned by the Government which made that acknowledgment.

6. The interference thus solicited has now taken place. But its operation is declared to be limited to the effects of the

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last expedition of Runjeet Sing, and to his usurpations on the left bank of the Sutledge during the latter part of the year 1808. In the 33rd paragraph of the letter of instructions from the Political Secretary to Mr. Metcalfe, under date the 21st October, it is expressly declared that "it is *not* the intention of Government to require from him, at the present moment, the surrender of those districts, on this side of the Sutledge, which have been long in his possession, although they may have originally belonged to the Rajah of Putteealah," and in the 35th paragraph of the same letter Mr. Metcalfe is informed that "in the event of the point of the restitution of the district in question (*i. e.,* Runjeet Sing's former conquests) being agitated in the course of his discussions with the Rajah," he is to state it to be a "subject of reference to his Government." Such being the positive instructions of Government, every political requisition to Runjeet Sing and every communication made to the petty Sikh Chiefs should, I conceive, have reference to them. The question now proposed I understand to be whether, with reference to the nature and effect of such of Runjeet Sing's usurpations on this side of the Sutledge as were made *subsequently* to the peace with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, but *prior* to the year 1808, it might not be proper to solicit the orders of Government as to the expediency of exercising a certain degree of *retrospective* interference with respect to *them* also, by requiring that the lands taken from their rightful Chiefs by Runjeet Sing in the district in question, during the interval above described, should be restored.

7. The question seems to me to be very nice, and to be susceptible of being viewed in a great variety of points. It may be examined on the grounds of *justice* and on those of policy; and on each of those grounds it appears to me that much may be urged both *for* and *against* retrospective interference.

8. In support of the *justice* of the measure it might be alleged that, as the successor to the power of Scindiah, the British Government had from the *first* (that is, from the

conclusion of peace in 1803) an undoubted right to interfere for the prevention of encroachments of the Sikh Chiefs upon each other, and that, if the right be exercised during the *latter* portion of the period, it appears consistent to exercise it during the *former* part also, more especially when it is considered that many of the petty Sikh Chiefs who in March last solicited the protection of the British Government obtained part of the territories wrested from those who were the first victims of Runjeet Sing's violence. In favour of the *policy* of the retrospection it might be urged that by restoring to the ancient and rightful owners all the districts of this description we should establish a claim on their friendship and gratitude, and thereby create a degree of local influence which might eventually be beneficial; whereas by leaving those lands either in the actual and immediate occupancy of Runjeet Sing himself, or in the possession of dependants, we transfer to *them* that influence, and thereby disgust the ancient proprietors. In the 6th paragraph of your letter of the 18th instant to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone you seem to me to place this argument in the strongest possible point of view by applying it to the predicament of the ancient proprietors of Ludhianeh.

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9. On the other hand, it might be urged that, as the usurpations in question took place long before the British Government declared its intention to interfere; as they have for some time been in the undisturbed possession of the present occupants; as no application for protection was made to Government by the dispossessed parties; and as their restitution was not in the contemplation of Government when it first opened the present negotiation with Runjeet Sing—they may now be said to have, to a certain degree, received the prescriptive sanction of time, and that that Government is not bound to demand their surrender. The *later* conquests on this side of the Sutledge having been made *pending* the reference to the British Government relative to Runjeet Sing's right to make them, the demand of *their* surrender seems so fair and reasonable that even Runjeet Sing himself appears sensible of its justness. But the

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retrospective requisition, from its relating to matters which during the early part of Mr. Metcalfe's mission seemed to be admitted, might have the appearance of retracting an acquiescence which had been tacitly given, and, as such, might be considered by Runjeet Sing as vexatious and unjust. In favor of the *policy* of refraining from retrospection it might be alleged that, whether the districts in question be in the occupancy of Runjeet Sing himself or in that of Bhaug Sing, &c., by leaving these persons in undisturbed possession, we not only forbear to irritate, but we gratify the present occupants; that from the vicinity of our detachment the influence arising from the occupancy cannot be considerable; and that from the facility with which we could at any time dispossess the holders they might be regarded as holding the lands by *sufferance*, and that the indulgence might perhaps be considered as a pledge of the inoffensive conduct of the Chiefs in question.

10. Few political arrangements are totally free from some degree of hardship. On the present occasion it might be desirable to make a general retrospective enquiry into all tenures and occupancies of land, and to restore to every dispossessed person that which he may have been deprived of since the conclusion of the late treaty with Scindiah; yet even this might not be entirely satisfactory, or completely conformable to the dictates of justice, since, considering the distracted state in which the country to which these remarks relate has long been, it is probable that many of the persons dispossessed by Runjeet Sing were themselves usurpers or the favorites of usurpers.

11. Upon the whole, I confess it appears to me that the refraining from retrospective interference would be the line of policy the least embarrassing, and that on the grounds above stated the British Government adopting that line could not be considered by the dispossessed parties as unjust towards them. In my humble opinion, the great difference between merely requiring the surrender of the *late* usurpations and the extending the demand to those which

were effected *prior* to Mr. Metcalfe's mission consists in this, that, though neither of them made a part of the original object of his deputation, yet the *late* usurpations became almost immediately (and with the Rajah's own consent) a matter of reference to the British Government; while those of a more ancient date never came under discussion. If, therefore, their surrender were *now* claimed, it might induce Runjeet Sing to suppose that *every* concession on his part was to be followed up by a new requisition on ours,—an idea which might alarm and irritate his mind in the extreme. This, I think, would by no means be desirable, as Government can have no object in rendering that Chief an irreconcilable enemy, but must rather wish the reverse, provided it can be done without sacrificing our rights, committing our dignity, or endangering our security. This desire on the part of Government to avoid all unnecessary irritation of Runjeet Sing's mind, and to give as little offence as possible to his feelings, is strongly and clearly expressed in the 7th paragraph of Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's dispatch of the 30th November to my address.

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12. While I acknowledge these sentiments to be submitted with the utmost diffidence, I confess them to be the result of much deliberation and of an attentive, comparative reference to the several letters containing Government's instructions on the subject. In all these it appears to me to be the intention of Government to limit its present requisitions to the *recent* usurpations of Rajah Runjeet Sing. After a careful inspection of these documents I do not find any instructions which prescribe the requiring the restitution of *all* the conquests of that Chief. From the tenor of your letter of the 18th instant to my address and from the 2nd paragraph of your dispatch of the following date to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, you appear to be of opinion that the dispatch of the 26th December from Mr Secretary Edmonstone to my address differs in some respects from the instructions transmitted to you for your guidance and seems to imply retrospection.

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Yet on an attentive re-perusal of the dispatch in question I do not find that it differs from the other documents conveying the instructions of Government on the subject. In one of Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's dispatches of that date it is said that "the Governor-General in Council will at the same time communicate to His Excellency the sentiments and wishes of Government on the measures to be pursued with respect to those places on this side of the Sutledge which have been lately seized and are at present occupied by the troops of the Rajah of Lahore." And in another dispatch of the same date to my address reference is made to "the sentiments of Government regarding the march of the detachment and the expediency of speedily resuming the usurpations effected by Rajah Runjeet Sing during his *late* expedition on this side of the Sutledge," and I am directed to "furnish His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with an accurate statement of the places seized by Rajah Runjeet Sing during that expedition and at present occupied by his troops."

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16. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated Dehli, the 25th of January 1809.*

Friendly attitude of the Raja of Jhínd.

IN my dispatch of the 15th instant [1] to your address, I had the honor to acquaint you that, in reply to a reference from Rajah Bhaug Sing, I had recommended to him to relinquish his intention of proceeding to Dehli, and to repair to camp to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony. I have now the honor to transmit a copy and translation of the Rajah's answer to my letter upon that occasion.

2. With reference to the subject of the dispatch in question, I have now the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, that I have this day received intimation from Colonel Ochterlony that on the 18th instant Rajah Bhaug Sing reached his camp, and on the 20th paid him a visit, during the course of which most satisfactory explanations took place on

[1] 9 *supra.*

both sides. Colonel Ochterlony observes that he took that opportunity to explain, in a candid but friendly manner, to the Rajah that the British Government considered itself bound, in honor and in justice, to require from Rajah Runjeet Sing the restitution to the rightful owners of all lands seized by him during his late expedition to the southern bank of the Sutledge, and that, as reason and equity required that a measure of that description should be conducted with impartiality, even he (Rajah Bhaug Sing), notwithstanding the friendly disposition of the British Government towards him, must not expect to be exempted from its operation. With the frankness of this communication the Rajah appeared to be much pleased, and with a candour which did him honor observed that by the effect of the system of restitution he would not lose a country yielding above Rs. 4,000 annually.

Friendly attitude of the Raja of Jhínd.

3. The conversation, as Colonel Ochterlony further informs me, then turned upon Jodh Sing, the Sikh Chief of Chichiroulee, in the vicinity of Booreah. Rajah Bhaug Sing observed that Jodh Sing was well disposed towards the British Government, but, having received obligations from Runjeet Sing, he was unwilling to be one of the first Chiefs who appeared to abandon him, on which account he could not with propriety wait upon Colonel Ochterlony, notwithstanding the vicinity of the camp to his place of rendezvous, adding, however, that, in the event of hostilities taking place, he would join the British army, but could not take that step until it reached Putteealah, when he would be kept in countenance by other Sikh Surdars. With this assurance Colonel Ochterlony declared himself perfectly satisfied, and observed that, under the delicate circumstances stated on the part of Jodh Sing, he did not desire to be then visited by him, but that he desired to receive an assurance in writing to the effect of the above declaration, as also a solemn promise on the part of Jodh Sing that that Chief would facilitate the passage of supplies sent through his country to camp.

4. From the nature of the conversation it appeared evident to Colonel Ochterlony that the Rajah was of opinion that the British Government might depend upon the

Friendly attitude of the Raja of Jhínd.

co-operation of every Sikh Chief on this side of the Sutledge. He will no doubt address you himself ere long on the subject. In the meantime I have deemed it my duty to submit, although in an imperfect state, the substance of the communications which I have received from him. He seems to be decidedly of opinion that the mere advance of the detachment will be attended with the happiest effect.

Enclosure to 16.

Translation of a letter from Rajah Bhaug Sing *to the Resident at Dehli, received on the 25th January 1809.*

After expressing my wish for the invaluable happiness of waiting on you (which is indeed beyond description), I beg leave to submit, for your favorable consideration, that I have had the extreme happiness of receiving your kind reply to my letter, in which out of your goodness and kindness you have directed my attendance on Colonel Ochterlony, who is proceeding to this quarter expressly for the protection of myself and of the other Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, and that I should join him with my troops.

Condescending Sir, my zeal and attachment to the British Government under every circumstance, whatever they may have been, must be well known. Previously to the receipt of your letter I had reached Kurnaul with the design of waiting on you and on the Colonel. In this interval it was that I had the honor to receive your gracious answer to my letter directing me to attend the Colonel with all expedition. In conformity to your gracious orders I reached Booreah by successive marches, and there I had the distinguished honor of meeting the Colonel.

The kindness and favors with which you have always loaded me have even been exceeded by those of the Colonel. Still, as you are the guardian of the concerns of the great and the small in this quarter, you must continue the cordial kindness which you have hitherto extended to us. In the degree that we hope for our welfare from you, we never can

hope to see our welfare so promoted by another as it has been promoted by you. May Almighty God long preserve in health and in recollections of us your noble and beneficent life! We have every assurance that in the protection of the British Government our prosperity and welfare will in every respect be found.

Friendly attitude of the Raja of Jhínd.

I am at present in attendance on the Colonel and will obey whatever orders may be given. Of this, you may rest assured. You kindly say that on business of importance I should write to you through Colonel McGrath. Accordingly I wrote to you through the Colonel from Kurnaul on a subject very interesting to me, and I depend on you for its arrangement. The English letter to the address of Colonel Ochterlony enclosed in yours to me has been submitted to him.

Relying on your favor and kindness, and trusting that you consider me as a zealous adherent to the British Government, I hope you will always keep me in remembrance, and honor me with your gracious letters, in which I consider my happiness included.

P. S.—Your faithful servant Pertaub Sing hopes you will accept his humble respects. He[1] prides himself on your former kindness and recollection of him.

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17. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier,—dated Fort William, the 30th of January 1809.*

As the intelligence lately received of the favorable change in the aspect of affairs on the Continent of Europe justifies a conviction that the projects of France against the British possessions in India must, if not entirely abandoned, at least be so far suspended as to render any extraordinary and immediate preparations of defence unnecessary, the views and intentions of Government under which your instructions of the 29th ultimo[2] were framed are materially altered. The object of stationing a military force in the territories of the Sikh

Revised orders regarding the location of a Military post on the Punjab frontier.

[1] The son of the Raja.

[2] 4 *supra*.

Revised orders regarding the location of a Military post on the Punjab frontier.

Chiefs south of the Sutledge, which before had reference to the approach of a European enemy, is now limited to the security of the territory between the Sutledge and Jumna against the encroachments of Rajah Runjeet Sing; and the reduction or subversion of the power of that Chieftain, which under other circumstances was considered an event highly desirable, and expected to be a probable consequence, though not a settled purpose, of the approximation of our troops to the frontier of the Punjaub, is no longer of the same importance to our interests. The Right Honorable the Governor-General therefore, although still resolved on grounds distinct from the eventual invasion of a European enemy to protect the territories in question from the encroachments of Rajah Runjeet Sing, is disposed, with a view both to facilitate an accommodation of the differences with that Chieftain and to remove that source of irritation and of mutual distrust which the presence of a British force near the frontier of the Rajah is calculated to create, to fix the position of the detachment at a much greater distance from the frontier of the Punjaub than was originally intended, if not to withdraw it to Kurnaul; and the necessary communication upon this subject has accordingly been transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from whom you will receive instructions regarding the position of the detachment under your command. That part of the instructions of Government addressed to you under date the 29th of December therefore which relates to your eventual communications with the Rajah of Lahore and with the Chiefs and subjects of his Government is inapplicable to the circumstances above described.

2. In the event of an open rupture with the Rajah of Lahore occasioned by the necessity of expelling his troops from the territories south of the Sutledge, Government has authorized a pacification on the principle of arrangement above stated, deeming the substantial and only essential basis of such a pacification to be that the Rajah shall withdraw his troops from the territories south of the Sutledge, which is to be considered as forming the boundary of his dominion in that direction.

3. Under present circumstances, therefore, the Governor-General in Council deems it advisable that any communications with the Rajah which may be found necessary on this occasion should continue to be conducted by Mr. Metcalfe (who, in the event of his being compelled by the hostile conduct of the Rajah to retire, has been directed to join the British troops in the field) whether it should be proper that he should repair to the Rajah's camp or confer with the Rajah's Vakeels in our own; but in the latter case, the Officer in Command will be united to him in conferences, which in either case are to be conducted under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.

Revised orders regarding the location of a Military post on the Punjab frontier.

4. If a military post had to be maintained on the Rajah's frontier, Government would have continued to think the Officer in Command at that post the most convenient and proper channel of communication with the Rajah, but for the single object of accomplishing an early pacification the Governor-General in Council thinks it proper to continue the powers of Mr. Metcalfe, who is either now, or was very recently, in the exercise of similar functions and has been for a considerable time in constant habits of intercourse with the Rajah and his ministers.

5. Copies of this dispatch will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to the Resident at Delhi.

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18. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department,—dated Dehli, the 3rd of February 1809.*

I think it my duty to address you for the consideration and orders of Government on the subject of a letter which I received from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding the Detachment now on its march towards the Sutledge. As the letter in question, although relating to public matters, is not strictly speaking *official*, my transmitting a copy of it might perhaps be deemed irregular. I shall therefore confine myself to the communication of the substance of its contents.

Proposed appointment of Captain K. Stuart as Persian Interpreter and Assistant to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

2. After some introductory remarks on the nature and duties of the political branch of his situation, Colonel Ochterlony proceeds to observe that, in the course of his intercourse with the Sikh Chiefs and others, and for the purpose of making the requisite reports to Government on the subject, a Persian Interpreter appears to him to be indispensable, and that, as his English correspondence may eventually prove voluminous, he is of opinion that a Head Assistant would greatly tend to facilitate the dispatch of business. With a view to those points, Colonel Ochterlony further observes that, partly from personal knowledge and partly from general report, he has reason to believe that Captain Kenneth Stuart, formerly an officer in the Marhatta service and now a resident at Dehli, is eminently qualified to discharge the double duty in question, and he accordingly suggests to me (in the event of my sentiments relative to Captain Stuart coinciding with his) the expediency of its being submitted to Government as his opinion that the nomination of that gentleman to the situation of Persian Interpreter and Head Assistant would be attended with benefit to the public service. In further support of the expediency of the measure, Colonel Ochterlony observes that in the event of the command which he now holds devolving upon another, either from some accident happening to him or from any other cause, it would be extremely desirable that some person should be in readiness to explain to his successor the then state of the intercourse, as also to make him acquainted with the views, characters and conduct of the Sikh Chiefs with whom he may have been negotiating, and to point out to him such parts of the English and Persian correspondence as might be deserving of his particular attention, and to put him in complete possession of the knowledge of all the acts, plans and intentions of his predecessor,—advantages which, as Colonel Ochterlony observes, could not be obtained from a reference to native servants, who generally consider themselves rather as attached to the persons than to the offices of those by whom they are employed.

3. From the present situation of Colonel Ochterlony I think it my duty to lose no time in making known to

Government the nature of his desire, and the grounds and considerations in which it originates.

Proposed appointment of Captain K. Stuart as Persian Interpreter and Assistant to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

4. To no one could the task of addressing Government upon this subject have been more grateful than it is to me from its giving me an opportunity of bearing testimony to the uncommon merits of Captain Stuart, whose talents I consider to be no less extraordinary than his indefatigable and successful cultivation of them is praiseworthy. In point of honorable principles, respectable character, amiable, conciliating manners, excellent conduct, great ability and useful acquirement, I am enabled by long acquaintance to say with some degree of certainty that Captain Stuart, as a perfect gentleman and a complete man of business, would do credit to any situation; while his thorough knowledge of the languages of this country and the customs of the natives renders him peculiarly well qualified to discharge the duties of the office now in question.

5. On these grounds, permit me most respectfully to seek the favorable consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

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19. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, Fort William,—No. 4, dated Camp near Putteealah, 4th February 1809.*

Progress of force advancing to the Sutlej.

Since my last from Dadoopore dated the 20th ultimo nothing has occurred deserving the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, as the Chiefs who joined me on the march contented themselves with general but amicable professions or interested enquiries similar to those I had already reported, and deferred every discussion of a political nature till our arrival at Putteealah, where a general meeting of all the Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge had been previously settled.

Surrender of Ambála to Rani Dia Kour, and her gratitude.

2. Previous, however, to my march from Dadoopore and before I had sent the summons I intended to the Officer in Command of the Rajah of Lahore's troops, I received intimation by report of the evacuation and surrender of Umballa to the agents of the Ranee Dyah Koour, which was confirmed on my arrival at my ground, a march distant from that place, by her people, and shortly after by the Ranee herself, who insisted on waiting on me veiled to hear her Vakeels express her gratitude for the interference of the British Government and her restoration to her possessions.

3. Of this place, its revenue and management I shall have the honor to submit a detailed report when I am more assured that I can depend on the accuracy of the information I have obtained. At present I shall only say that the oppression of her Dewan was a general subject of complaint.

4. Several of the villages of this district having been given by the Rajah of Lahore to Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing, I had an opportunity of observing the very cheerful and ready obedience of the former to the wishes and intentions of Government by his instant compliance with my desire that he should withdraw his thannahs and put the Ranee in possession, which occasioned as immediate an acquiescence on the part of Bhye Lall Sing's Vakeel, who knew his master too well to think he would wish to be outdone by the Rajah in any mark of respectful attention, or afford any additional suspicion of his views in still continuing in the suite of Rajah Runjeet Sing.

Advance to Patiála and visits from and to the Raja.

5. On my arrival at my camp about 13 miles distant from this place, I was met by the Dewaun of Rajah Sahib Sing, who after a very short conversation seemed eager to inform me that my approach was most desirable and most welcome, and anxious to do away with any unfavorable impression which might have been made by the Rajah's recent interview and engagements with the Rajah of Lahore, assuring me that they were dictated by the most urgent necessity and alone could have saved Putteeallah from the grasp of Runjeet,

with whom its possession had long been a favorite object, as implying the actual sovereignty over, and consequent homage and tribute of, every Chief on this side of the Sutledge.

Advance to Patiála and visits from and to the Raja.

6. The letters of the Rajah had previously given the same assurances in still stronger terms, and as I marched past on the morning of the 2nd instant the Rajah came out of the town to meet me, requesting me to consider his house as mine and the city as the property of the British Government.

7. I should not dwell on these expressions so common in the East if the tone and manner had not evinced the sincerity of the sentiments expressed and shewn that his mental imbecility had not rendered him uninformed of the dangers he had escaped or insensible of the benefits to be expected.

8. I paid him my first visit yesterday accompanied by Brigade-Major Brownrigg and Lieutenant Brooke, Quarter Master, and during the whole time of my stay he repeatedly expressed a childish joy in being delivered from all apprehension of the Rajah of Lahore by the protection of the British Government. The character of this Prince is too generally known to render it necessary for me to enter into any description. I shall only mention one circumstance in elucidation, *viz.*, that, although the visit was intended to be at an early hour, we did not receive intimation that he was ready for our reception till past noon, and I was subsequently informed that this long delay was occasioned by the joint but fruitless endeavours of all the Chiefs to admit his son, a youth of about 12 years old, to be present at the ceremony.

Visit from the Raja of Jhínd and discussions as to the attitude of Ranjit Singh.

9. Whilst waiting in expectation of the return of my visit to the Rajah, I received a visit from Rajah Bhaug Sing of Jeend, who was accompanied by a confidential person in the service of the Rajah of Lahore; and, as the conversation which took place was of considerable length and importance, I beg leave to refer to the accompanying notes, No. 1,[1] which were taken by my order the moment after he took his leave.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Visit from the Raja of Jhínd and discussions as to the attitude of Ranjit Singh.

10. I am not perfectly convinced that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General will approve either of the information given or arguments used on this occasion, but I considered that a clear and candid explanation would be most likely to remove the doubts of the Rajah of Lahore and prove to him that his own suspicions and conduct had alone led to the assembly of the army which excited his apprehensions by their advance to the Sutledge, and took some pains to prove that the force I was originally destined to command of itself sufficiently evinced the friendly intentions and pacific views of the British Government, as the detachment did not exceed many posts established in our own territory and that the larger force now sent originated in his having ordered his army from a distant expedition to the banks of the Sutledge, which naturally led to a supposition that he meant to oppose its establishment. I also remarked that Mr. Metcalfe's assurances had a claim to the fullest confidence, as it could not but be observed that whenever any question arose on which he felt hesitation or doubt he uniformly declared it was a subject of reference to his Government, but on this he had no reserve, and explicitly declared what was expected from the Rajah and intended by us. In conclusion I observed that it struck me as most advisable that he should prove his confidence in the assurances of Mr. Metcalfe by ordering his army to retire, and when he gave proof that he no longer harboured improper suspicions it might lead to the Treaty he appeared so anxious to obtain, but that it was evident the Rajah was surrounded by interested advisers who excited his suspicions to answer their own purposes.

11. I have just parted with the Rajah, with whom I exchanged the usual presents and received repeatedly the same assurances of gratitude and satisfaction which he expressed at our first interview. I shall have the honor of addressing you to-morrow and have only now to add that the Dewaun, Cheyn Sing, marches with me in command of what is called a Thousand Horse.

20. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 5, dated Camp near Mullair Kotla, 9th February 1809.*

WHEN I transmitted my last dispatch and mentioned my intention of addressing you the following day, I hoped that I had overcome the spirit of procrastination so common with the natives, and should be enabled to forward the most authentic proofs of the general good-will and satisfaction of the several Sikh Chieftains who have claimed and received the protection of the British Government. Procrastination of Sikh Chiefs.

2. The delay which has taken place, however, has not changed my opinion of their sentiments, but is solely to be attributed to their habitual indolence, which requiring the continual application of stimulants ceased to operate with my early departure from Putteealah, and may also be ascribed to the distressed state of Rajah Sahib Sing's finances, who finds it difficult to raise the advances requisite for the troops he intended, and I am persuaded wished, should proceed with me.

3. I marched, in obedience to my orders, on the 5th instant from Putteealah and encamped at Nabah, where I was received by Rajah Jeswunt Sing with equal but more decorous satisfaction than has been shown by the Rajah of Putteealah. Arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony at Nábha and reception.

4. This Chief is considered next in rank, and from his superior sense possesses superior influence, to the Rajah of Putteealah, and, although I had declined all interchange of presents with lesser Chiefs, I found that the distinction with which he had been treated by Lord Lake and the respect in which he was generally held rendered it necessary to depart from the resolution as well with him as the Rajah of Putteealah, and visits of ceremony with the usual exchange of presents consequently occurred.

Arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony at Nábha and reception.

5. This Chief has received very considerable grants from Runjeet Sing of his early conquests in the Fuslee years 1214 and 1215, and is consequently apprehensive of suffering from the interference of the British Government; to his verbal and written interrogations on this subject I sent a letter, the copy of which I have the honor to transmit.

6. It will be my first object to procure, as soon as leisure and opportunity afford the means, a full and explicit statement of all the earlier conquests and grants of Runjeet Sing and transmit them to you for the information and decision of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, and until that information is obtained I would wish to decline offering any decided opinion on the subject.

7. It, however, appears to me at present, from the anarchy and confusion hitherto prevalent, that my first appeal to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council respecting retrospective restitution, though founded on my ideas of general justice and a repugnance to countenance the oppressions of the powerful over the weak and the defenceless, would, if attended to, lead to such a variety of intricate claims as might perhaps perplex and embarrass the most upright intention and give general disgust without affording individual satisfaction; and to this observation I may venture to add that the policy which induced the Rajah of Lahore to bestow his favors on the Chiefs of most power and influence may perhaps dispose the British Government to continue them.

Arrival at Máler Kotla. Treatment of Chief by Raja Ranjit Singh.

8. From Nabah, after a halt of a day at the earnest solicitation of the Rajah, I marched to Amer Gurh and yesterday arrived at this place, the residence of a venerable and much respected Patan Chief called Utta-oola Khan, from whom the Rajah of Lahore, as mentioned in Mr. Metcalfe's dispatches, levied a very heavy contribution in ready money and for the payment of the balance demanded the securities of Cheyn Sing, the Dewan of Sahib Sing, Rajah Bhaug Sing, Jeswunt Sing and Bhye Lall Sing, whose

thannahs and collectors I found established in every part of the Patan's territory.

Arrival at Máler Kotla. Treatment of Chief by Raja Ranjit Singh.

9. As the late accounts from Mr. Metcalfe indicated a more pacific disposition in Rajah Runjeet Sing, I considered it advisable to embrace the pretext for delay afforded me by their establishment to enforce the orders of Government by reinstating the Patan Chief in his former authority; and I have much satisfaction in reporting to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General that this act of justice has been completely effected this day, without demur on the part of the several pretended securities and to the great joy of the Patan Chief, who but a few months since anticipated another visit from the Rajah of Lahore, which would doubtless have terminated in his absolute expulsion and ruin.

Intelligence from Lahore.

10. My letters from Mr. Metcalfe, under date the 3rd instant, indicate a greater confidence in the Rajah's expressed intention to concede every point which has been demanded, and my own intelligence from his Court informs me that his mother-in-law has urged him in the most earnest manner to avoid hostilities with the British power, which, as coming from one who has so much cause of complaint and dissatisfaction, will probably have greater weight at this moment than he has been accustomed to pay to her representations.

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21. *Translation of a Precept or Ittillah-nameh under the seal of General St.* LEGER *and under the seal and signature of Colonel* OCHTERLONY, *written the 9th February 1809, corresponding to the 23rd Zel Hijeh 1223 Hijereh.*

Proclamations issued by General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony.

THE British Army having encamped near the frontiers of the Maharaja Runjeet Sing, it has been thought proper to signify the pleasure of the British Government by means of this Precept, in order to make all the Chiefs of the Maharaja acquainted with the sentiments of the British

Proclamations issued by General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony.

Government, which have solely for their object and aim to confirm the friendship with the Maharaja and to prevent any injury to his country, the preservation of friendship between the two States depending on particular conditions which are hereby detailed.

The Thannahs in the Fortress of Khurr, Khanpore and other places on this side of the River Sutledge which have been placed in the hands of the dependants of the Maharajah, shall be raised and the same places restored to the ancient possessors.

The force of Cavalry and Infantry which may have crossed to this side of the Sutledge must be recalled to the other side of the country of the Maharajah.

The troops stationed at the Ghaut of Philour must march thence and depart to the other side of the river as described, and in future the troops of the Maharajah shall never advance into the country of the Chiefs situated on this side the river, who have called in for their security and protection Thannahs of the British Government; but if in the manner that the British have placed Thannahs of moderate number on this side of the Sutledge, if in the like manner a small force by way of Thannah be stationed at the Ghaut of Philour, it will not be objected to.

If the Maharajah persevere in the fulfilment of the above stipulations, which he so repeatedly professed to do in presence of Mr. Metcalfe, such fulfilment will confirm the mutual friendship. In case of non-compliance with these stipulations, then shall it be plain that the Maharajah has no regard for the friendship of the British, but on the contrary resolves enmity. In such case the victorious British Army shall commence every mode of defence.

The communication of this Precept is solely with the view of publishing the sentiments of the British and to know those of the Maharajah. The British are confident that the Maharajah will consider the contents of this Precept

as abounding to his real advantage and affords a conspicuous proof of their friendship, that with their capacity for war, they are also intent on peace.

Proclamations issued by General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony.

(True Translation.)

K. B. STUART.

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22. *Translation of another Precept, without date.*

A Precept or *Ittillah-nameh* was formerly written on the 9th February 1809, corresponding to the 23rd Zee Hijeh 1223 Hijereh on the subject of evacuating Khurr, Khanpore, Furreedkote, and other places situated on this side of the Sutledge, and, although only Khurr, Khanpore and Furreedkote are immediately required to be evacuated, orders not having yet been received regarding the places more antecedently placed in the hands of the dependants of the Maharajah; accordingly for the satisfaction of the minds of the Maharajah's Chiefs, this Precept is given, and the preservation of friendship between the two States is included in the conditions to be mentioned:—

That the dependants of the Maharajah immediately raise their Thannahs from the places of Khurr, Khanpore and Furreedkote and restore them to the ancient possessors;

That in future the troops of the Maharajah shall not enter into the country of the Chiefs on this side of the River, who for their safety and protection have called in Thannahs from the British Government;

That the force of horse and foot under Gunda Sing, who have come to this side, shall be recalled to the other side to the Maharajah's own country;

Proclamations issued by General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony.

That the force stationed at Philour Ghaut shall march thence and depart into the Rajah's country on the other side the Sutledge;

That in the same manner that the British have placed small Thannahs, so shall the Maharajah only place at Philour Ghaut a force by way of Thannah and adequate to the necessity.

By such acts the continuance of friendship between the two States may be expected, but in case of non-agreement to the above conditions, then shall it appear that the Maharajah has not at heart the preservation of friendship between the two States.

(True Translation.)

K. B. STUART.)

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23. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel OCHTERLONY,—dated Fort William, the 13th of February 1809.*

Restoration of usurpations of Ranjit Singh. Orders of Government.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 20th ultimo,[1] and to signify to you the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council's entire approbation of your communications to Rajah Bhaug Sing, both on the subjects of Jodh Sing and of the restitution to the original proprietors of the lands usurped by Rajah Runjeet Sing during his late expedition, although by such restitution the Sikh Chiefs may be deprived of some part of their actual possessions; and you will observe that the principle stated by you on that occasion to Bhaug Sing is in exact conformity to the tenor of the instructions of Government conveyed to you in my dispatch of the 6th instant, and the Governor-General in Council observes with satisfaction Bhaug Sing's acquiescence in the justice of that principle, and confidently trusts that it will be general among all the Sikh Chiefs who may be affected by the intended restitutions.

[1] 14 *supra.*

24. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 6, dated Camp near Nutthi, 9 miles south-east of Loodeana, the 14th of February 1809.*

Discussions with Vakils of Ranjit Singh. Halt of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's force.

When I transmitted my last dispatch from Mullair Kotla it was my intention to have proceeded direct to Loodeana, but these intentions having been prevented by the arrival of Vakeels from the Rajah of Lahore, and from circumstances which arose out of their arrival, I judged it most advisable to pursue a north-easterly direction, which would shorten my distance from the ultimate point of my destination and enable me to form a speedy junction, if necessary, with the army commanded by Major-General St. Leger.

2. In forming this decision I was influenced by a firm conviction that it was not the wish of Government to engage in hostilities whilst accommodation was practicable, and if war was inevitable it would be unadvisable to run any risk when success could be insured.

3. My report to Major-General St. Leger accompanies this dispatch, and I have great satisfaction in adding that the line of conduct I adopted has been honored with his approbation.

4. Shortly after my arrival on my present ground, the Vakeels were introduced to me by Rajah Bhaug Sing, and soon entered into a long and tedious enumeration of various grounds of complaint which the Rajah had or pretended to have against Mr. Metcalfe for an undue reserve on points in which their principal was particularly interested and desirous of information, and specified in proof his answers relative to the conquests of the Rajah previous to that gentleman's arrival at his Court.

Discussions with Vakils of Ranjit Singh.

5. I heard everything they had to say without the slightest interruption, and then told them that, although the subjects they had mentioned were not immediately in my province, I felt no objection to assign what appeared to me the obvious reasons of the reserve of which they complained. Mr. Metcalfe in answer to all the Rajah's enquiries had invariably given the same answer, that it was a point for reference, and if that reference has not been made, and a decisive answer obtained, they must attribute it solely to the delays and repeated breach of promises which Mr. Metcalfe had experienced in the fulfilment of the previous requisitions, and which, if I remembered rightly, Mr. Metcalfe had candidly declared must be executed before any other subject could or would be discussed; that if Mr. Metcalfe had received the proofs he required of the friendly disposition of the Rajah, he would doubtless have instantly solicited the decision of his Government, and before this an answer would have been obtained. No improper reserve could therefore justly be attributed to Mr. Metcalfe, and the question being at this moment in a state of uncertainty was indubitably to be ascribed to the conduct of the Rajah himself.

6. When they urged the suspicions and apprehensions of Runjeet Sing, I replied that, even if Mr. Metcalfe's assurances had failed of their due effect in quieting the mind of the Rajah, he ought to have been convinced by events and circumstances which had recently fallen under his own observation that an increase of territory was by no means an object with or a wish of the British Government, as he might have recollected the immediate unsolicited restoration of a considerable territory to Jesswunt Rao Holkar and our long resistance of the repeated and earnest supplication of the Chiefs on this side where we had an indubitable right to exercise our interference. In conclusion, I observed that the right to the places in question was certainly, as Mr. Metcalfe observed, a subject of doubt, but it might not be unworthy the Rajah's serious consideration how far it was advisable for him to engage in hostilities

on subjects declaredly reserved for reference, and whether it would not be time enough to involve himself in such a contest when he found that the decision was unfavorable to his pretentions.

Discussions with Vakils of Ranjit Singh.

7. How far the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General may approve of my engaging in such a long and particular conversation I acknowledge I feel diffident, but, under the impression that the views of Government were perfectly pacific, I hope it will not be thought that in entering into such an explanation I conceded anything inconsistent with its character, dignity or honor.

Halt of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's detachment near Ludhiána.

8. It is a sacred duty in me to report faithfully every transaction, and it will be a source of sincere regret and mortification if His Lordship should think that my explanations have exceeded the limits of duty or propriety. It is, however, I trust, warrantable to add that this appeared to make a very strong impression on the minds of the Vakeels, who after paying me some compliments on my candour and sincerity most earnestly solicited me to halt for five days, until the whole of the conversation should be made known to the Rajah.

9. A report of this conversation was immediately made to Major-General St. Leger, and I must confess that, if there is any impropriety in a compliance with their urgent solicitations, it is justly to be attributed to my opinion, which the General condescended to ask, *viz.*, that from the late letters from Mr. Metcalfe and the altered conduct of the Rajah the delay could not have any injurious, and might produce the most beneficial, consequences.

10. It is with pleasure I add that the first measure of the Vakeels was to order Gunda Sing and the troops on this side of the Sutledge to cross, taking the responsibility of the measure on themselves, and my accounts late last night informed me that the whole were withdrawn.

25. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 7, dated Camp near Loodeana, the 18th February 1809.*

Arrival of force under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony near Ludhiána.

IN my dispatch No. 6 [1] I had the honor to report my proceedings up to the 12th instant, and I have now the honor to acquaint you that the promised time of our halt expiring on the night of the 16th, I marched yesterday morning with the approbation of Major-General St. Leger to this place, which I reached without the slightest interruption about 10 o'clock A.M., and took up a strong position with my rear to the town and a *nullah* covering my front and flanks.

2. To the west of the town, and on an eminence which completely commands it and the northern and western faces, is a fort of considerable extent, which, though out of repair, might I apprehend be of the greatest use in defending our post should this be the place ultimately decided upon, and the ground around affords elevated situations for the construction of field redoubts. On this important point I shall be assisted by the more scientific opinions of Colonel Kyd, who intends minutely to examine and report the result of his investigations to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Tenure of Ludhiána and desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange it for Karnál.

3. The object of my writing in this early stage of the business is to re-advert to the circumstance of the district being one of the earlier conquests of Raja Runjeet Sing from the widow of Roy Illias and by him bestowed on Rajah Bhaug Sing, his maternal uncle, one who, notwithstanding that connexion and the favors of Runjeet, I believe to be most sincerely desirous of restraining his encroachments and anxious to benefit by the avowed protection of the British Government.

4. This Chief, however, in common with all those who have received grants from Runjeet Sing, is very anxious respecting the extent of retrospective restitution, and hopes a

[1] 24 *supra*.

confirmation from Government of all lands obtained from that Chief. They do not, or will not, seem to regard the injustice of the act; indeed, seem rather inclined to defend it on the plea that the death of the heir of Roy Illias had placed it in the hands of a woman unfit and incapable of managing so extensive a property, and who had in fact no legitimate right to the possession.

Tenure of Ludhiána and desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange it for Karnál.

5. This Chief, adverting to the expressed desire of Government to establish a post on the left bank of the Sutledge, has already intimated to me his wish of exchanging the district of Loodeana for Kurnaul, which he states to be of only equal value and which he says the Mundul Patans are very desirous to relinquish.

6. In reply to this intimation, I reminded him that until the orders of Government were received his right to this district must be considered as in a state of suspense, but that I should make known his wishes to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council and to Mr. Seton, with whom it was probable such an arrangement, if acceded to, would ultimately rest. I am not aware that his assertion respecting the dissatisfaction of the Mundul Patans is founded on fact, and if it is it probably arises from the same cause which would deter them from the acceptance of this remote district equally surrounded by Sikh Chiefs, and consequently equally liable to the inconveniences and embarrassments; but if there appears no objection to this exchange, in any other point of view, it would seem desirable to introduce a Mussulman Chief where there are already a great number of that persuasion and who must be more devoted to us than we can ever expect a Sikh to prove.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the attitude of the Sikh Chiefs.

7. It may not be improper in this place to remark that, from a very attentive observation of their conduct and conversations ever since my first knowledge of them to the more recent experience afforded me by this command, I am disposed to believe that, though very earnest and sincere in their wishes for the British interference to guard them against the rapacious visits and extortions of the Rajah of Lahore, no

cordial co-operation is to be expected from them in the event of actual hostilities with that Chief, as I am persuaded they connect the subjection of his territory and dominion with the extension of their own power as a nation, and, though I am fully aware of the disaffection which his ambition, tyranny and oppression have excited in the Punjab, I am still dubious whether without previous stipulations the Western Chiefs would desert his standard and subject themselves to foreign interference, differing so essentially in manners, customs and opinions.

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26. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Ludhianeh,—dated the 24th of February 1809.*

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, on the subject of the nature of Rajah Bhaug Sing's tenure of the district of Ludhianeh, his desire to relinquish that district for *purgunnah* Kurnaul, and the expediency of the British Government's agreeing to that arrangement. I have also received your dispatch of the same date on the same subject to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, left open for my perusal.

2. In my humble opinion the exchange would be a measure extremely desirable, in the event of the position now taken up at Ludhianeh by the detachment under your command being permanent. At the same time, however, it does not appear to me that, even in that case, the fixing the Mundul Patans in Ludhianeh, instead of continuing them at Kurnaul, is an object of sufficient importance to induce the British Government to make any very great sacrifice for its attainment, since the attachment of Rajah Bhaug Sing will, at all times, facilitate the procurement of supplies, and secure the general good-will of the district, in an equal degree, perhaps, to what might be expected were it in the possession of the Mundul Patans.

3. I do not, however, think it likely that the latter would agree to the exchange; for, though I have had no opportunity of sounding them on the subject, I am sufficiently acquainted with their general sentiments to be

convinced that they would not consent, without the utmost reluctance, to an arrangement which removed them still further from the Doaub, to which they anxiously wish to return. In the 6th paragraph of your letter to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone you have expressed with accuracy the sentiments which I am persuaded they entertain. Their dissatisfaction with Kurnaul (which is very great) originates in causes which would operate still more strongly with regard to Ludhianeh, *viz.*, remoteness from their former possessions, and its being surrounded by Sikh Chiefs. If, however, Ludhianeh were fixed upon as the permanent place for our military position, and if, on political grounds, Government deemed the acquirement of still greater local influence in the district a matter sufficiently desirable and important to lead it to make a compensation, either territorial or pecuniary, to the Mundul Patans, for the purpose of inducing them to relinquish Kurnaul, there is no doubt that the measure might easily be effected,—that is, the Mundul Patans might either obtain land elsewhere or pecuniary allowances in lieu of Kurnaul, which might then, if Government thought fit, be bestowed upon Rajah Bhaug Sing, in which case Ludhianeh, being surrendered by that Chief, would be at the disposal of Government.

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

4. The above suggestions are hazarded under the supposition that our advanced military post is to be permanently fixed at Ludhianeh. You will, however, have been apprized ere now, by Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's dispatch of the 30th ultimo [1] to your address, that the necessity of pitching upon Ludhianeh for that purpose appears less urgent than was formerly the case, and that it is possible that a position remote from the Sutledge may be ultimately fixed upon for the detachment.

5. The present case, as you justly observe, is a marked instance of the strong idea of legitimate right attached to the former usurpations of Runjeet Sing on this side of the Sutledge, and clearly proves the embarrassments in

[1] 17 *supra.*

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

which we should be involved by attempting to effect a general retrospective restitution without at the same time offering an equivalent. To find equivalents in *all* cases in which such restitution, in a just, moral and humane point of view, would be desirable were impossible,—a consideration which is hostile to the execution of the truly liberal suggestion of restoring Ludhianeh to the orphan family of the unfortunate Roy Illias.

6. If Ludhianeh only yields an annnal *jumma* of 16,000 rupees, its value cannot be much more than a third of that of Kurnaul, if properly managed. The circumstance, however, of the *jumma* being so small may be considered as facilitating to Government the means of granting an equivalent to its present possessor in the event of its being deemed expedient, either from motives of justice and humanity or on political grounds, to induce him to surrender it to the British Government.

7. With respect to Kurnaul, its situation is truly deplorable. The turbulent and lawless conduct of the zumeendars and their immediate dependants has given rise to disorders which the Jagheerdar has not the means of preventing or checking. I have long been convinced that nothing but the local presence of a disposable military force could restore tranquillity and introduce subordination. Hitherto circumstances have not admitted of my having recourse to this mode; but the time is now come when it can be resorted to with effect.

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27. *From N. B.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, to Lieutenant-Colonel D.* OCHTERLONY, *Commanding a Detachment on the North-West Frontier,—dated the 27th of February 1809.*

Appointment of Captain K. Stuart as Persian Interpreter to Colonel Ochterlony.

I AM directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has this day been pleased to appoint Captain Stuart to be Persian Interpreter and Assistant to you in the discharge of your political duties, with a salary of two hundred rupees (200 rupees) per mensem.

28. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 27th of February 1809.*

Approval of proceedings of Colonel Ochterlony as reported in his despatch No. 4—(19 *supra*).

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, No. 4, reporting your further progress and the occurrences which have taken place since the date of your former dispatch.

2. The Governor-General in Council directs me to state to you that he has derived great satisfaction from your report of the effect which your advance appears to have had on the minds of the Chiefs through whose territories you have passed. The ready acquiescence of Rajah Bhaug Sing and of the Dewan of Bhye Laul Sing in your requisitions to them to restore to Ranee Dya Koour the places belonging to her which had been made over to those Chiefs by Rajah Runjeet Sing is extremely satisfactory.

3. His Lordship in Council further directs me to observe that the tenor of your discourse to Bhaug Sing and the Agent of Runjeet Sing at the conference which you held with them was consistent with the views and intentions of Government relative to Runjeet Sing, excepting only in the degree in which you encouraged an expectation of the future conclusion of a treaty, with regard to which it might have been advisable, for the reasons stated in the Governor-General in Council's instructions to Mr. Metcalfe, to avoid any declaration on which such an expectation could be founded. At the same time His Lordship in Council is aware that what you stated on that subject was consistent with the language employed by Mr. Metcalfe at the Rajah's Durbar.

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29. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated Camp Loodeana, the 1st of March 1809.*

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant,[1] and beg leave to express my sincere acknowledgments for the communication of your unreserved

[1] 26 *supra*.

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

opinions on the subject of the proposed exchange of Loodeana for Karnaul.

2. In submitting some further observations to your consideration I am actuated by my ideas of the importance of Loodeana as a post, both in a military and political point of view as well as by an earnest desire to meet the wishes of Rajah Bhaug Sing, whose conduct has met my entire approbation.

3. I address myself on this subject directly to you in preference to the Secretary of Government because I would wish that my sentiments, if just, should have the sanction and support of your superior local knowledge and experience, and, if unfounded, that they may be wholly suppressed or accompanied by an explicit exposition of your objections to the measure proposed.

4. Only two objections occur to me as of the least weight against fixing on this place as the permanent military post,—1st, its distance from our own territories and consequent difficulty of early reinforcement; and, 2ndly, its vicinity to some of the anterior usurpations or encroachments of Rajah Runjeet Sing which have been bestowed on some of his most staunch adherents, such as the Dewaun Mokum Chund and Ghirba Sing of Bhurt Gurh.

5. To the first objection I would oppose the natural strength of the ground supported by a fort, which may at a small expense be converted into a strong depôt and serve as a protection to the cantonment which will be situated to the west and under cover of the guns; and to the second I can only oppose a hope that the regularity and discipline of the troops, combined with my own anxious endeavors to prevent any just ground of offence, will guard us against any dispute or interference.

6. Of the relative value of the two districts I cannot from memory speak with precision, but it occurs to me that many of the most productive villages of Karnaul were bestowed on individuals who had claims, and the residue of

the district not much exceeding Loodeana in estimated value was given to the Munduls.

Desire of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál.

7. Admitting, however, the superior value of Karnaul, I would still contend that it would be of the greatest advantage to Government to make a compensation, either territorial or pecuniary, to the Munduls and acquiesce in the proposal of Rajah Bhaug Sing, because, admitting, as I am ready to do, his attachment to the British Government, I do not consider him to possess that local influence at this place which would be really useful not only from its being a recent acquisition, but from the superior number of Mussulman inhabitants and Jaut cultivators who are adverse to Sikh controul, and he has already stated that with the loss of the fort he considers the collections involved.

8. In the hands of Government and under an *amil* appointed by and subject to the orders of the Commanding Officer, the troops and followers would not dare to commit the slightest injury to the inhabitants, and I should hope that the collections might be increased by the demands of the detachment to a great extent. However, the revenue cannot be an object of the slightest consideration, whilst the restoration of this little *taloog* to the Ranee of Roy Illias and her adopted son would be such a strong proof of our declared disinclination to augment our territorial possessions, redound so highly to the honor of the British character, and form such a contrast to the rapacious conduct of the Rajah of Lahore, that I own I feel an earnestness and solicitude in the decision of Government which perhaps it would be more prudent to suppress.

9. It may be proper on this occasion to correct a statement in my letter to the Secretary of Government under date the 18th January, where I mentioned that the whole territory of Roy Illias had been wrested from her with the exception of only a few villages for subsistence. I am now enabled to state on better information that the unfortunate Ranee was stripped not only of all her territorial possessions, but even of much personal property, and is now indebted to

the benevolence of Rajah Sahib Sing for the few villages which, held and managed by her adopted son, form her sole support.

Case of Jodh Singh, Kalsia.

10. In my last of the —— I sent an exaggerated statement of the possessions of Surdar Jodh Sing, which I now find, including *misuldars* or petty Surdars dependent, do not exceed one lack-and-a-half of rupees. In reporting the conduct of this Chief I performed a duty, but, with every prospect of an accommodation with the Rajah of Lahore, I own I should be sorry to see him deprived of his possessions for a fidelity excited by attachment and gratitude, and which disdained the temporising policy of the other Chiefs who had equally benefited, and some of whom, I am afraid, would have been more dangerous as friends than foes.

Views of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in regard to the mission to Lahore.

11. Reverting again to your letter of the 24th and with reference to the despatch of the Secretary of Government of the 30th January [1] alluded to therein, I would wish, with deference, to observe that the nearer and closer our intercourse with the Rajah of Lahore, the more our proximity admits of his witnessing the discipline and regularity of our troops, and the more clearly we evince the injustice of his doubts and suspicions, the more likely we are to acquire that degree of confidence which will tend to the ultimate accomplishment of those views which first suggested the mission of Mr. Metcalfe.

12. The apprehensions of a French invasion may be thrown more distant by the recent events in Europe, but in my humble judgment should never be so far lost sight of, whilst there is a possibility of such an attempt, as to induce us to neglect every means in our power of conciliating the good-will and inspiring the confidence of every intermediate power through whose territories they must pass, and on this account I feel a firm persuasion that much good might result from the conclusion of a general treaty of amity with the Rajah of Lahore, and under a like conviction should

[1] 17 *supra*.

hope great advantages from the appointment of a permanent Resident at his Court.

Views of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in regard to the mission to Lahore.

13. Embassies dispatched in moments of exigency and for particular purposes can never be expected to be attended with those advantages which must be derived from a constant cultivation of mutual good-will when no immediate danger is pending, and, whilst it is considered as a mark of respect, affords the means of acquiring a knowledge of parties, interests, influence and character, which is essential to the successful issue of every negociation; and if these ideas are well founded, I should regret the recall of Mr. Metcalfe, who appears under many disadvantages to have latterly acquired the favorable opinion of the Rajah and has doubtless acquired that information which would be useful hereafter.

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30. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated the 3rd March 1809.*

Memorial of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál or Pánipat in exchange for Ludhiána.

Having received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony enclosing a memorial from Rajah Bhaug Sing, requesting that on resigning *Talookeh* Ludhianeh to the British Government he may obtain in lieu thereof a grant of either Kurnaul or Panipat, I have the honor to transmit the original memorial, accompanied by a translation, together with copies of Colonel Ochterlony's letter and of my reply, for the consideration and orders of Government.

Enclosure to 30.

Translation of a memorial from Rajah Bhaug Sing which accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's letter of the 25th February 1809 to the Resident at Dehli.

The British army has now reached Ludhianeh, and, together with the fort, has selected four or five thousand *beegahs*. I am ready to agree to everything, even to sacrifice my life. In no respect whatever are my wishes different from those of the British Government. Contiguous to the fort of Ludhianeh and immediately dependent upon it, there

Memorial of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál or Pánipat in exchange for Ludhiána.

are 41 villages now in my possession, the annual *jumma* of which is Rs 17,800. The collections of these villages depend upon the possession of the fort, and when the fort shall no longer be in mine their realization will be rendered difficult and the productiveness (*sic*). As I have again and again evinced my attachment to the British Government, and as the system of that Government is ever strictly conformable to the principles of justice, I hope that, in lieu of the fort of Ludhianeh with the adjacent *talookeh* of 41 villages, the *purgunnah* of Kurnaul, including the collection of the duties as well as the possession of the land, may be bestowed upon me, or, if that cannot be, that *purgunnah* Panipat, including the privilege to collect duties, may be conferred upon me. In the event of the *jumma* of Paniput exceeding that of Ludhianeh (*viz.* Rs. 17,800), let my *talookeh* of Chundyaleh and other villages belonging to me be transferred to the British Government in lieu of that excess. In other words, I request that, on my relinquishing the fort and villages of Ludhianeh, the *talookeh* of Chundyaleh and other detached villages, a *sunnud* for *purgunnah* Paniput, including the right to the duties as well as to the land, may be bestowed upon me.

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31. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated the 4th of March 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, enclosing a memorial from Rajah Bhaug Sing requesting that, in exchange for Ludhianeh, he may obtain from the British Government a grant of Kurnaul or Paniput.

2. From the honorable testimony borne by you to the good conduct of Rajah Bhaug Sing and from the decided preference and steady attachment evinced by him to the British interests at a moment, and upon an occasion which, from his connection with his nephew Rajah Runjeet Sing, must have cost him a painful struggle, it would certainly be

desirable to meet his wishes with respect to the exchange if it could be done without giving rise to inconvenience. To myself I confess it appears that, on the grounds of policy, the arrangement would not be altogether advisable. However trustworthy Rajah Bhaug Sing himself may be, we cannot be certain that his successors will be equally deserving of our confidence; even in his own time it may be presumed that his principal officers being Sikhs (as would probably be the case) would be partial to their countrymen, and inclined to keep up an intercourse with Lahore, which under certain circumstances might be found detrimental to our interests. But, supposing this objection to be visionary or the supposed evil to be too remote to be allowed to influence our present conduct, I do not think the arrangement could be adopted with respect to Kurnaul from the difficulty of devising an eligible and suitable indemnification for the present Jagheerdars, who could not, consistently with the good faith of Government, be removed without their own consent, and who, if removed, would expect an equivalent in land. With respect to Paniput, it appears to me that, from its greater vicinity to Delhi, the political objection operates still more forcibly to that *purgunnah* than to Kurnaul, exclusive of which it may be observed that, from the physical position of Paniput and from its present condition (great part of it being granted in jagheers), it may be expected in the course of time to become a most productive district to Government. When, by the deaths of the present grantees, the jagheers shall become escheats, the revenue will become very considerable; and if the canal of Dehli be reopened, which, from the happy termination of our difference with the Sikhs, may, I think, be considered as more likely than at any former period, the *purgunnah* in question would be rendered invaluable.

Memorial of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál or Pánipat in exchange for Ludhiána.

3. Such are the grounds upon which, in my humble opinion, it would not be altogether advisable to comply with Rajah Bhaug Sing's application. No one, however, can be more sensible of his merits than myself, and no one can be more desirous of preventing our military post at Ludhianeh

Memorial of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál or Pánipat in exchange for Ludhiána.

from being attended with loss to him. For the mere ground occupied by our cantonment (supposing it to be fixed at that place) a pecuniary indemnification might, I imagine, be tendered to him; or, if that could not be done without hurting his feelings as an independent Chief, a portion of land, equally productive, might be bestowed upon him in some part of the Assigned territory. With respect to the fear expressed in his memorial, that our occupying the fort would embarrass the collections of the whole *talookeh*, I should imagine it must be partly ill-founded, and that it might be found practicable to adopt measures which would give effectual protection to his lands and people.

4. I shall transmit a copy of your letter to me on the subject, together with a transcript of this my reply, and the Rajah's memorial, for the consideration and orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

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32. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated the 10th of March 1809.*

Wish of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál. Views of the Resident at Delhi.

I WAS duly honored with your letter of the 1st instant [1] and have maturely considered its interesting contents.

2. With respect to that part of it which relates to the district of Ludhianeh, I think the question may be divided into two parts, *viz.*, the expediency of obtaining the right to dispose of that *talookeh* by bestowing an equivalent upon Rajah Bhaug Sing, and the fixing upon Kurnaul as the equivalent. With regard to the former, I concur most sincerely with you in opinion that, considering the merits and claims of Bhaug Sing and the unfortunate and very pleading predicament of the widow and family of the late Raee Ilias, the making a compensation to the former and the restoring

[1] 29 *supra*.

the district to the latter would exhibit to the surrounding nations a striking proof of the justice, public gratitude and liberality of the British Government. I also think that the restoring the district to the family of Raee Ilias would be attended with the great political advantage of convincing the Sikh Chiefs that we have no desire to extend our territorial possessions. But, though it certainly appears to me, upon these grounds, that the inducing Rajah Bhaug Sing to accept an equivalent for Ludhianeh, and the then bestowing the district upon the family of Raee Ilias, would be an arrangement no less honorable to our national character than desirable in a political point of view, I confess that, for the reasons stated in my letter of the 4th instant to your address, I still continue of opinion that it would not be advisable to establish a Sikh Chief in *purgunnah* Kurnaul, even though the Mundul Patans could without injury or inconvenience be transferred to another part of the country. I should, however, be extremely happy to see the merits of Rajah Bhaug Sing rewarded in a manner which, to himself, appeared adequate to his claims.

Wish of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnál. Views of the Resident at Delhi.

3. With respect to the conduct of Surdar Jodh Sing, I think with you that, considering the prospect which has for some time prevailed of our differences with Runjeet Sing being brought to an amicable termination, his having joined that Chief cannot be considered as a mark of hostility towards us sufficiently decided to render him liable to the loss of his dominions on this side of the Sutledge, although it is pretty evident from it that, had war taken place, he would have become a hearty partizan of Runjeet Sing.

Case of Sardar Jodh Singh, Kalsia.

4. Although upon the present occasion you do not express a desire that your letter should be laid before Government, I nevertheless think it my duty to submit it for consideration, as I conceive it must be desirable to His Lordship in Council to be made acquainted with the sentiments of all executive officers holding high and responsible situations on points immediately connected with those situations. Under this impression I shall transmit to the Chief Secretary a copy of your letter and of this my reply.

33. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 13th March 1809.*

Orders of Government on Colonel Ochterlony's despatches Nos. 5 to 7.

No. 5, dated 9th February.*
No. 6, dated 14th February.*
No. 7, dated 18th February.*

* 20, 24 and 25 *supra.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin, and to state to you such observations as the contents of them have suggested to the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

2. I am directed, however, in the first instance, to advert to the enclosed copy of the Governor-General in Council's instructions of this date to the Envoy at Lahore, which is transmitted to you because His Lordship in Council deems it proper, under the arrangements now prescribed, that you should be apprized of the grounds of their adoption, and of the views and intentions of Government relative to the Rajah of Lahore and the other Sikh Chiefs.

Determination to maintain the post of Ludhiána.

3 You will observe from this document, and you will be informed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief previously to your receipt of the present dispatch, that Government has resolved to maintain the post of Lodhiana with the detachment under your command. When Mr. Metcalfe's mission therefore shall be considered to have completely terminated, the charge of any eventual communications with the Rajah of Lahore will devolve upon you, according to the arrangement described in my letter to your address of the 29th of December.

Desire of Government that the Treaty with Ranjit Singh should be concluded by Mr. Metcalfe.

4. The Governor-General in Council is aware that, in consequence of the Rajah of Lahore's compliance with all the requisitions of the British Government, Mr. Metcalfe may have quitted the Rajah's Court before his receipt of the instructions now transmitted to him. But in that event it is still the intention of the Governor-General in Council that the measure of concluding the intended Treaty should be accomplished through Mr. Metcalfe's agency, as being so

immediately connected with his anterior negotiations at the Court of Lahore.

Question of resumption of Ranjit Singh's earlier conquests.

5. The transmission of the enclosed document supersedes the necessity of any further discussion of the subject of the resumption of Rajah Runjeet Sing's ancient conquests on this side of the Sutledge, and of any reply to the observations on that subject contained in your dispatches now acknowledged.

Approval of reinstatement of Chief of Máler Kotla.

6. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves the measure of reinstating the Patan Chief, Utta Oolla Khan, in the full possession of his territory, as reported in your dispatch of the 9th ultimo. It is proper to observe that the copy of your letter to Rajah Jeswunt Sing of Nabah, referred to in the 5th paragraph of your despatch of the 9th ultimo, has not been received.

Disapproval of conferences with Ranjit Singh's Vakils and the halt of Colonel Ochterlony's force.

7. The Governor-General in Council received with some concern the report of your conference with the Vakeels of Rajah Runjeet Sing, contained in your dispatch No. 6, dated the 14th ultimo, and especially the information conveyed in a letter from the Adjutant-General to the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, that you had referred to Major-General St. Leger the proposition of the Vakeels soliciting the halt of the British troops during five days.

8. Mr. Metcalfe intimated to Government that the ostensible objects of the dispatch of these Vakeels to your camp were to shew to the world that the establishment of a military post on the frontier took place with the concurrence of Rajah Runjeet Sing, and to attend you to the place which might be fixed for the station of the detachment, observing that the Rajah's real view probably was to obviate public discredit by appearing to have a share in the arrangements connected with that measure; and the Governor-General in Council concludes that in announcing to you the despatch of the Vakeels, Mr. Metcalfe communicated to you these objects of their mission. His Lordship in

Disapproval of conferences with Ranjit Singh's Vakils and the halt of Colonel Ochterlony's force.

Council therefore observes that you would have acted more prudently by refusing to attend to any representation on their part directed to the object of restraining the advance of the detachment, and therefore inconsistent with the declared purpose of their mission.

9. His Lordship in Council observes that, by entering into those points of discussion which formed the subject of your conferences with the Vakeels, you incurred the hazard of the evils generally attending a double negotiation, and, by listening to remonstrances founded on an impeachment of the candor and sincerity of the Envoy and an indirect menace of hostility, you exposed to risk the credit of the Envoy and the dignity of the British Government. In proportion as the Rajah of Lahore manifested a disposition to hostility, the honor and the interest of the British Government required the exertion of promptitude and firmness. His Lordship in Council therefore cannot avoid remarking that the very arguments by which the Vakeels endeavoured to induce you to halt were precisely those which should have led you to advance agreeably to the instructions which you had received from the Commander-in-Chief.

10. His Lordship in Council at the same time is satisfied that you acted in the manner which appeared to you to be most conducive to the public interests, and most conformable to the pacific intentions of Government, and, although the Governor-General in Council is happy to find that no serious embarrassment has ultimately resulted from the measures which you adopted, His Lordship in Council is compelled, by the obligation of his duty, to express his opinion of the error of your proceedings on this occasion.

Declaration by Major-General St. Leger and Colonel Ochterlony of policy of the British Government.

11. The Governor-General in Council further observes, in the 3rd paragraph of your letter of the 10th ultimo to the address of Major-General St. Leger, an allusion to a declaration under your seal and that of the Major-General, in the possession of the Vakeels, containing a full explanation of the intentions of the British Government

and of the orders which you had received, and remarks that no copy of that important document has been transmitted to Government.

12. With the exception above stated, your proceedings, as reported in the dispatches now acknowledged are entirely approved.

13. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to concur in opinion with you that the exchange of Lodhiana for Kurnaul suggested by Bhaug Sing is objectionable, and at all events does not consider it an object of sufficient importance to warrant any sacrifice, territorial or pecuniary, on the part of the British Government. His Lordship in Council, however, suspends his final judgment on that question until the receipt of a report from the Resident at Delhi respecting the state of the district of Karnaul and other local points connected with the subject.

Wish of the Raja of Jhínd to exchange Ludhiána for Karnal.

14. As the concluding paragraph of your despatch of the 18th ultimo implies a supposition on your part that in the event of an open rupture with Rajah Runjeet Sing, and of the destruction of his power, it was the intention of the British Government to appropriate the territories of the Punjaub, I am directed to signify to you that this design was never in the contemplation of Government, and that if war had taken place with the Rajah of Lahore, and had terminated in the subversion of his dominion, Government would have judged it consistent with the principles of a wise and liberal policy to restore to the several Chiefs of the Punjaub the possessions and the rights of which they have been deprived by the systematic usurpation and ambition of Raja Runjeet Sing.

Disavowal by Government of any intention to annex the Punjab.

15. A copy of this despatch will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to the Resident at Delhi.

34. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 8, dated Loodeana, 17th March 1809.*

Forces and Revenues of the Sikh Chiefs, Cis-Sutlej.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a statement of the Forces[1] and Revenues of the Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be adopted towards the Sikh Chiefs.

2. In submitting these documents to His Lordship's attention, and with reference to the 10th paragraph of your dispatch of the 29th December 1808, it becomes my duty to communicate such opinions as are the result of local observation; and in obedience to those instructions I shall submit them to His Lordship's consideration with diffidence but without reserve.

3. When the Sikh Chiefs first solicited the protection of the British Government, their jealousy would have yielded to their apprehensions, and whatever measures it had then thought proper to adopt would not only have received the cordial co-operation of those who urged our interference, but would have been aided by a reasonable pecuniary contribution for the support of such a force as might be considered requisite to the object.

4. It would have been a subject of stipulation in which our own interest or distant possible events would have been unknown, and they would have clearly understood that they were left an option of acceding to the offered and regulated terms of a just and liberal Government, or submit to the rapacious demands of a capricious and arbitrary tyrant, whom they had seen at one hour levying a contribution and the next seizing a whole district. They knew that they were certain of continually repeated exactions, without feeling any confidence that such payments would ultimately preserve their property.

[1] Printed as Appendices A, B and C to "The Rajas of the Punjab."

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be adopted towards the Sikh Chiefs.

5. When His Lordship in Council determined on assuming the long established, though neglected, privilege, these Chiefs had learnt from the Mission to Lahore that their protection was only a secondary object, and I believe they are not without suspicion that circumstances might have rendered them entirely dependent on the Rajah of Lahore, with the sanction and approbation of the British Government. Under these circumstances and impressions the majority, and particularly those who felt the greatest apprehensions, rejoiced the more sincerely in our approach and interference from an idea that they should now derive a permanent, essential and also a gratuitous advantage.

6. When, in obedience to orders, I transmitted the documents which form a part of this dispatch to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, I remarked that—"The revenue of each must be considered in a great degree conjectural, and with reference to the system of collection universally adopted throughout the country, which is a very small part in money and a portion of the crop varying according to the degree of indulgence or favour wished to be extended to the individual, and in some cases a politic attention to the strength of the village and disposition of its inhabitants."

It is, however, on the whole the most accurate I have been able to obtain, though not so much so perhaps as I could have wished, the necessary enquiries having led to surmises and reports unfavourable to its prosecution and perfectly foreign to the object.

7. The reports and surmises alluded to were most industriously circulated, and detailed minutely conversations that had never passed and demands that were never made, yet had a slight foundation in fact, which gave the colouring of truth to the grossest and most interesting falsehood.

8. The whole originated in my investigations respecting the general resources of the country, and lately in a short desultory conversation in which I wished to sound the leading

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be adopted towards the Sikh Chiefs.

Chiefs on the subject of a pecuniary demand, and in order to do away the unfounded rumours which I found these general enquiries had excited, I not only mentioned it with great caution, but prefaced what I was about to say by a declaration that it was neither by orders from Government nor had I reason to believe it an object, but that I thought it possible they themselves might feel more satisfaction in making such an offer which, if received, would be the more acceptable as the result of their own choice, and would tend to produce such orders from His Lordship as would free them from an anxiety as to the future which I was well informed they had felt and canvassed.

9. The exaggerated details which followed were with some the effect of design, but in general only the result of that vague and uncertain information obtained by common native news-writers on subjects of real importance, and which compels them to substitute conjecture for fact to amuse those whose credulity attaches importance to their information.

10. From these enquiries, from the manner in which they have been sedulously reported and exaggerated, from the result of my short conversation, and from a long and very attentive observation of the Sikh character, and a particular acquaintance with some of the leading Chiefs, it is my humble opinion, 1st, that their revenue system does not admit of any pecuniary contribution which would be an object of consideration; 2ndly, that it would be advisable for Government early to declare to the Sikh Chiefs through the Resident at Dehlie, or such other channel as is judged proper, in the most clear and explicit terms the exact nature of the relations of protection and dependence which shall permanently exist between them and the British Government, and to what extent and in what cases the adjustment of their concerns, collectively or individually, shall come under the cognizance, notice or decision of the Resident at Dehlie or other authority subordinate to him.

11. Their suspicion and jealousy, however strong, bends to the confidence they place in any written declaration of

the British Government, and as its decisions cannot be unjust or unreasonable they cannot, in my humble judgment, be too soon promulgated.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs.

12. With the greatest deference I beg leave to offer it as my opinion, after the most attentive observation, that the cordial and sincere co-operation of the Sikh Chiefs, the facilities and resources of the country, the passage and protection of convoys and all other advantages expected from our connection with this confederacy of Chiefs can only be relied on by, 1st, the declared exemption from all pecuniary tribute; 2nd, a declaration not to interfere further in the internal economy of the country than to insist that they shall abstain from all violences or encroachments on each other, and that actual possession at a defined period shall be considered to constitute a right of property which will not admit of infringement without an appeal to the Supreme Government or Resident at Dehlie; 3rd, that the British Government shall have a right to call on the several Chiefs for a certain portion of their known permanent force for three months in every year, if required, without pay, and to demand and expect their zealous and cordial co-operation with the British troops on any invasion of their country, and their assistance to and protection of all convoys proceeding to the British Detachment or Armies; 4th, that all European articles shall be exempted from duty in passing through the country; 5th, that all horses purchased on account of the Company and having the passport of the Resident at Dehlie shall be exempted from the payment of duties to any Chief through whose districts they may pass.

13. I indulge a hope that the suggestion mentioned in the 5th article would greatly facilitate and increase the supply of Cavalry horses, and by limiting the exemption to those only who have the passports of the Resident of Dehlie, it permits the free exercise of their former privilege of *sayer* duty on all those brought for private trade without their being liable to deception by forged parwanahs, and that the whole, taken as to their effects on their opinions or prejudice

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs.

are such as are likely to subdue jealousy, excite confidence and inspire gratitude.

14. Adverting to occurrences of recent date and to arguments brought forward by the Sikh Chiefs themselves in support of some of the early usurpations of the Rajah of Lahore, it may not be considered unadvisable to insert some clause which shall define the rights of widows, establish the claims of adopted children, and assert their own paramount authority to assume or bestow possessions where there is no legal heir.

15. Under such declarations or definitive regulations, which leaving them the uncontrouled exercise of their former power in all just cases and only depriving them of the privilege of preying upon or injuring each other, I should hope that time and experience of substantial benefit must produce the good effects which I have described; and if such consequences should be the result—and I trust they will not be considered as unreasonable inferences—we shall have derived advantages from assuming the protection of the Sikh Chiefs which appear to me of far greater value than any pecuniary contribution their military habits or revenue system would possibly admit.

16. It is for the superior wisdom of His Lordship in Council to decide on the probable justness of the conclusions I have drawn and the propriety of the measures I have proposed. It will be my anxious endeavour, as it is my bounden duty, to give effect, to the utmost of my power and ability, to such other plan or system that may be thought more salutary or advisable.

17. Supposing the suggestions I have taken the liberty with diffidence to recommend to form the groundwork of our arrangements with the southern Chiefs, and the attachment and gratitude to follow, which I have ventured to predict, I should consider that on any emergency we might calculate on the cordial co-operation of at least 5,000 Irregular Cavalry;

and it may also be a subject not unworthy the consideration of higher authority whether the advanced position we have now taken and the relation in which we shall now stand with the neighbouring Chiefs do not diminish, if not do away, the necessity of the large force now maintained in *Zillah* Merutt, and suggest the expediency of increasing the usual force now at Karnaul, from which place we could advance in any force, on the slightest indication of hostile intentions, either direct to this post and enter the Punjab, or take such centrical position between the eastern hills and the sandy and arid districts to the west as must, I should imagine, intercept any large bodies attempting to enter the Doab or our southern possessions on this side of the Jumna.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony as to the policy which should be observed towards the Sikh Chiefs.

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35. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 3rd of April 1809.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch under date the 11th ultimo, enclosing a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony representing the merits of Rajah Bhaug Sing, the expediency of rewarding him by a grant of Karnaul, and the good effects likely to be produced by the restoration of the district of Lodhiana to the family of Raee Ilias Khaun, together with a copy of your reply.

Rejection of prayer of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál in exchange for Ludhiána.

2. The sentiments of Government on the subject of an exchange in favor of Bhaug Sing of Lodhiana for Karnaul, which correspond with your own, have already been communicated to you and to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony. Those sentiments remain unchanged. However desirable it may be both to gratify Bhaug Sing and to obtain the credit of an act of justice and benevolence by restoring Lodhiana to the family of Raee Ilias Khaun, those objects must not be prosecuted at the hazard of other political interests, unless the prosecution of them were connected with the obligation of public faith, the fulfilment of which must ever be considered

Rejection of prayer of the Raja of Jhínd for the grant of Karnál in exchange for Ludhiána.

of paramount importance. In the present case no such obligation appears to exist beyond the necessity of compensating Rajah Bhaug Sing for the loss which he may sustain by the cantonment of a detachment of British troops at Lodhiana, and this compensation has been already authorized by the orders of Government contained in my letter to your address of the 20th ultimo. The conduct of Bhaug Sing has certainly been highly commendable, but it must be remembered that, while he sacrificed no interest for which he will not obtain an equivalent, he has derived in common with the other Sikh Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge the solicited benefit of the British protection.

3. An obligation to effect the restoration of the district of Lodhiana to the family of Raee Ilias Khaun could only be admitted by the recognition of a principle of action which would require the interposition of our influence and power in all other similar cases, our cognizance of which cannot justly be expected, nor prudently exercised. To pursue the dictates of abstract justice and benevolence by the indiscriminate redress of injuries, beyond the limits of our admitted authority and controul, would be to adopt a system of conduct of which the political inconvenience and embarrassment would not be compensated by the credit which might attend it.

4. For these reasons, the Governor-General in Council does not deem it expedient to adopt either of the measures suggested by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, and the compensation, or rather the remuneration, proposed for Rajah Bhaug Sing is the less necessary, as you will observe by my despatch of the 13th ultimo, and my separate despatch of this date, that the occupation of the military post of Lodhiana is only intended to be temporary, and that consequently the fort and the ground at present occupied by the British detachment will revert to that Chief.

5. A copy of this letter will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

36. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 9, dated 28th March 1809.*

Suggestions of Colonel Ochterlony for securing the co-operation of the Sikh Chiefs, Cis-Sutlej.

As it appears from the communications of Mr. Metcalfe that he is apprehensive the delays which have occurred in the surrender of Furreed Kote originate in a deep laid system of deception and for purposes hostile to the British interests, I take the liberty to press an early consideration of the propositions contained in my dispatch No. 8 [1] as best tending to secure the cordial co-operation of the Chiefs on this side the Sutledge.

2. My own secret intelligence from the Rajah's Durbar coincides also with the Envoy's information that Jodh Sing Kulseeah is the most strenuous advocate for war, and I would humbly submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the necessity of ordering provisionally, and in the event of actual hostilities, the immediate seizure of the districts and villages held by that Chief, to remain in a state of sequestration till the re-establishment of peace.

3. I should be inclined to recommend their instantaneous distribution amongst those Chiefs who have manifested the most zeal and steadiest adherence to the British interest, if the Sikh character admitted of such demonstrations of our generosity and good-will. But if any circumstances of policy should induce His Lordship to resume the grants and restore the lands to Jodh Sing, I am apprehensive no previous explanation would prevent the grantees from considering such a measure as much an infringement of their rights as though they had been long in actual possession.

4. Unaccountable as such conduct might seem and however unnatural such a character may appear, it is not the less true, and in my long acquaintance with mankind I have never seen a race so strongly characterised by an almost brutal ignorance, selfish depravity, shameless falsehood, unprincipled cunning and a suspicion so excessive that even benefits must be long felt before they are received as unconnected with some sinister design.

[1] 34 *supra*.

37. *From A.* SETON, *Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated 1st April 1809.*

Views of the Resident at Delhi on Colonel Ochterlony's proposals.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a despatch No. 9[1] from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to your address, which that officer transmitted open for my perusal.

2. As far as I have yet been able to ascertain the wishes, doubts and expectations of the friendly Sikh Chiefs on the left bank of the Sutledge, I think it my duty to take the liberty of respectfully submitting it as my humble opinion that nothing would be more likely to tranquillize the minds and secure the confidence of those Chiefs than the adoption of the suggestion contained in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's despatch No. 8 (under date the 17th March)[2] to your address. If the principle of the suggestion be honored with the approbation of Government, it may perhaps be deemed desirable to accelerate its execution, with the view of counteracting the intrigues now practising by the Dewan of Runjeet Sing and others for the purpose of rendering them doubtful and diffident as to the ultimate intentions of the British Government. I have every reason to believe that, if Rajah Bhaug Sing now manifests a degree of anxiety which he did not at first express on the subject of our occupying the fort of Ludhianeh, it is entirely to be ascribed to the effect of the intrigues to which I now allude. I have endeavoured, but with less success than I wished, to tranquillize his mind by observing to him that the occupancy of the *mere* fort cannot be attended with loss to him, since the ground is totally unproductive; that the presence of the British troops, by preserving order and regularity in the district, must promote its general prosperity; while the ready market for every species of produce which the vicinity of the cantonment affords must greatly add to the value of the land. From Rajah Bhaug Sing's replies to letters from me, containing these and other arguments, it forcibly strikes me that a new influence of a pernicious and counteracting nature operates upon his mind, and I attribute it to

[1] 36 *supra.*
[2] 34 *supra.*

the intrigues of the emissaries of Mohkum Sing, the Dewan of Rajah Runjeet Sing,—a circumstance which renders me extremely desirous to convince Rajah Bhaug Sing and the other friendly Sikh Chiefs in a similar predicament, that the British Government has it not in contemplation to over-set their independence.

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38. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 10th April 1809.*

Orders of Government as to the declaration of policy to be made to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 8, dated the 17th ultimo,[1] enclosing statements of the conquests and grants of Rajah Runjeet Sing and of the estimated revenue and military establishments of the Sikh Chiefs between the Sutledge and the Jumna, and submitting to the consideration of Government a plan of arrangement calculated to determine the exact nature and extent of the relations which shall hereafter subsist between the British power and those Chiefs, and to communicate to you the sentiments and resolutions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on the points to which your despatch relates.

2. With this view it is necessary to refer to the fundamental principles and objects of the policy which has been pursued with relation to these Chiefs and to apply them to actual circumstances and to future contingent events.

3. The views of the British Government in declaring these Chiefs to be under its protection coincided entirely with their interests and wishes at the time when that declaration was promulgated. They had experienced the effects of that rapacity and usurpation on the part of Rajah Runjeet Sing against which they had previously solicited our protection. The career of his violence and ambition was arrested by the

[1] 34 *supra.*

Orders of Government as to the declaration of policy to be made to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

interposition of the British Government, and while we pursued the dictates of our own interests, by setting bounds to the progress of his usurpations we established a just claim to the gratitude and attachment of the Chiefs who derived the immediate benefit of that exertion of our influence and power. It is true the advance of a detachment of British troops to the Sutledge was connected with a precautionary system of defensive arrangements against the expected danger of a French invasion, but it involved also the effectual protection of the Chiefs on this side of that river and was proximately directed to that object. Their entire satisfaction at the advance of the detachment therefore was naturally to be expected, and appears to have been evinced.

4. It is to be assumed as a principle that the interests of these Chiefs are incompatible with the interests and designs of the Rajah of Lahore. It is their object to be independent of his controul, but only in the degree in which the British protection is necessary for that purpose to be dependent upon us. Obligations, however, between States, as between individuals, must to a certain extent be reciprocal, and the true point of policy is to balance those obligations. It is equally our interest, as it is the interest of the Sikh Chiefs, that the Rajah of Lahore should not be suffered to extend his dominion over them, and therefore their concurrence and co-operation in measures admitted on both sides to be necessary for that purpose might reasonably be expected, but this bond of common interest would be materially weakened, and confidence and attachment would give place to jealousy and aversion if our interference in their concerns should impose upon them obligations of a nature to place them in a condition of absolute dependence upon our authority and of subjection to our controul. All that our interest requires of them is that they should facilitate the execution of measures of which the object is their security and advantage as well as our own. Of this description is the optional march of our troops through the territories under their authority. But this measure may eventually be expedient at a time when to them it may appear unconnected with any object in which they have a direct and

immediate interest. The right, however, must be asserted and maintained on the ground of the dependent relation in which they are placed towards the British Government by the permanent protection afforded them. The report contained in your despatch now acknowledged warrants a belief that they already apprehend a diminution of the independence they formerly possessed and an encroachment on their rights, and that they view the position of our troops as a means of establishing over them a direct controul. It is of importance therefore, as you have observed, to apprize them distinctly and without delay of the relation in which they are in future to stand towards the British power. It is also, for the same reason, of importance to regulate that relation by the principles above described, and in a manner calculated rather to confirm their confidence than to secure advantages by demanding concessions referable to future events and not to the actual situation of affairs, nor indeed would any stipulations not conformable to their own sense of interest secure such advantages.

Orders of Government as to the declaration of policy to be made to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

5. At the date of the instructions to which you refer events were contemplated of a nature to require, on the basis of common interest, the establishment of more intimate relations with the southern Chiefs. The expectation of such events cannot now be pleaded as a ground of argument for demands applicable only to their occurrence. Our interference in the concerns of the Sikh Chieftains relatively to each other, abstractedly considered, was never an object of interest to this Government; a commixture in their dissensions and disputes must ever be embarrassing and vexatious; our interference in their internal concerns was intended only in the degree which might be unavoidable at a time when by the position of our troops the British authority might be said to be planted within the limits of their possessions, and which might be necessary on a principle of indulgent and conciliatory attention to their interests. It forms no part of the general objects of our policy, nor is it necessarily connected with the obligations of general protection which we have assumed.

Orders of Government as to the declaration of policy to be made to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

6. This view of the subject is substantially described in my despatch of the 6th of February, but Government having recently had occasion to enter more directly into a discussion of the subject and to communicate its sentiments to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed extract from that communication.

7. It only remains to state to you the precise terms of the declaration to be promulgated among the Sikhs on the subject of their future relation towards the British power, with reference to the views and principles described in the enclosed document and in the present letter; and the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that it may be limited to the following points :—

1st, an assurance of permanent protection from the authority and controul of Rajah Runjeet Sing.

2ndly, their exemption from all pecuniary tribute.

3rdly, their continued exercise of the same rights and authority that they have hitherto enjoyed within the limits of their respective possessions.

4thly, that they shall afford every facility and accommodation to the British troops whenever Government shall judge necessary, for purposes connected with the general interests of the State, to march its troops into their country.

5thly, that they shall zealously co-operate with the British power on any invasion of their country.

8. The Governor-General in Council will have no objection to the addition of the 4th and 5th articles suggested in your dispatch, both on account of the reduction of charges on Europe articles required when a British force may be in the country of the Sikhs and on horses purchased for the Cavalry, and as an indication of the acknowledged supremacy of the British power, which could not perhaps without some degree of discredit be subjected to the payment of duties to Chiefs placed in a condition of dependence upon it.

9. The Governor-General in Council is also of opinion that it would be advisable to suffer it to be generally understood that the advanced post at Lodhiana is not intended to be permanent.

Orders of Government as to the declaration of policy to be made to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

10. You are authorized to convey to the Sikh Chiefs in such mode as you may judge proper a declaration to the effect above described.

11. I am directed to observe, before closing this despatch, that the statements which accompanied your letter now acknowledged contain much highly desirable information.

12. A copy of this despatch will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to the Resident at Delhi.

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39. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Loodeana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 11, dated Loodeana, 19th April 1809.*

Justification by Colonel Ochterlony of the halt of his force for which he was censured.

On the 7th instant I had the honour to address His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, No. ——, to which not having yet received a reply, but concluding my application has been forwarded and being most anxious to preserve the favorable opinion which honored me by the selection for this command, I am induced to submit to the consideration of His Lordship in Council a copy of such part of the correspondence I have maintained with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as will account for the request I have deemed it necessary to make.

In general I have forborne to make any comment, because a consciousness of rectitude will not submit to the language of complaint, and accusation would be improper.

The pointed animadversions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General communicated in your letter of the 13th ultimo [1] appear to have been produced by a letter from the

[1] 33 *supra.*

Justification by Colonel Ochterlony of the halt of his force for which he was censured.

Adjutant-General of which I have yet no other information than what your letter has afforded, nor has His Excellency condescended to acquaint me through any other channel of his disapprobation, or the reasoning on which it was founded.

In my letter to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the 7th instant I have considered it an act of justice to myself to state—what I entreat may be fully understood by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General—that there was no indirect menace of hostility, but on the contrary the halt was solicited as a boon and received as a blessing.

5. It has occurred to me, however, on a re-perusal of my letter to Major-General St. Leger of the 10th February that the indirect menace alluded to may have originated in the interchange of messages which took place before the conference, and if this was the fact I must observe that my conduct was not only evidently uninfluenced by that message in its harshest construction, but was in direct conformity to my instructions to keep only so far in advance of Major-General St. Leger as to admit of his being within a day's march to support any attack, if necessary. My only subject of deliberation that night (and I determined only after a very considerate and serious review of all my instructions from Government, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Major-General Commanding in the Field) was whether I should proceed direct to my ultimate position and singly risk the occurrence of hostilities, or whether I should move in such a line as would approximate the advance corps to this post and to Major-General St. Leger's supporting army at the same time.

6. The conference with the Vakeels on the succeeding day gave a new aspect to every object, and I yielded to earnest entreaty a halt which appeared to me to be in strict conformity with the wishes of Government and afforded time for the amicable completion of a work which Mr. Metcalfe's letters informed me was in a favorable train, whilst they indicated a supposition that I should remain some time at

Putteealah, and clearly evinced that I was further advanced than either that gentleman or the Rajah of Lahore had imagined.

Justification by Colonel Ochterlony of the halt of his force for which he was censured.

7. His Lordship has been graciously pleased to assign to my conduct the praise of good intention, but waving such negative applause I would wish, if the preservation of peace was really an object of solicitude, to urge my claims to superior distinction, and with all deference, but with the confidence of truth, to assert that, disclaiming as I did all right or power of negotiation, the conference with the Vakeels and consequent halt were at that moment most particularly calculated to allay, and did for the time extinguish, the suspicions that rankled in the mind of the Rajah of Lahore: it stamped irresistible conviction of the true value of Mr. Metcalfe's oft-repeated assurances, and I would proudly boast that in this act alone I gave effect to that officer's endeavours to accomplish amicably the objects which the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General had in view, and which would have been frustrated if I had acted otherwise than I did, and I prevented the unnecessary occurrence of hostilities without any compromise of the honor of the British Government, at a time when the British Government was desirous of a pacification, and when the Rajah of Lahore had not only evinced a spirit equally amicable, but had given proofs of his final submission to all the demands which had been the subject of discussion at his Court for a considerable period of time.

My reply to the letter of the Rajah of Lahore delivered to the Vakeels shews no desire to intermeddle in any points of negotiation, but indicates in firm, though polite, terms my determination to examine, if not canton in, our present position; and if delays have occurred, if suspicions have again been excited, they will not be found to originate in any act of mine, and I feel the greatest satisfaction in thinking that the Envoy at Lahore will not hesitate to vouch that he has found me most anxious to conform to his suggestions and promote the objects of his mission, the interest of the service and the dignity and honor of the Government.

In entering into this detail I have only in view my own justification. To remain in this command when the sentiments of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief are in opposition to the favorable opinions which called me from obscurity must, I fear, be attended with inconvenience, if not danger, to the publick service, and to myself must prove a source of continual mortification and regret.

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40. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—Dated 29th April 1809.*

Resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony and orders of Government.

THE Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received from the head-quarters of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief copies of His Excellency's orders to your address of the 23rd ultimo, of your reply, and of your subsequent letter to the Adjutant-General of the 7th instant, from which His Lordship in Council has learned with great concern that you have judged it necessary to resign the command of the detachment posted at Lodhiana.

2. On this occasion I am directed to express to you the particular regret of the Governor-General in Council that your resignation and the circumstances attending it should have led to a termination of your command so different from that which was contemplated when you were selected for that service, and should have required the expression of those sentiments of disapprobation which accompany the acceptance of your resignation and which will be communicated to you by the Commander-in-Chief.

3. The Governor-General in Council is nevertheless desirous of rendering the justice that is due to your general conduct in the execution of the important duties assigned to you, by acknowledging with satisfaction the proofs you have afforded of that activity, local knowledge and judgment which first recommended you to the choice of Government, and

which, with the single exception of what relates to the Vakeels from Runjeet Sing, have entitled every part of your political conduct to approbation.

Resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony and orders of Government.

4. The minute and satisfactory information which you have furnished respecting the possessions, power and dispositions of the different Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge is deemed worthy of particular acknowledgment, and your judicious suggestions and advice respecting the policy to be pursued in that country, and the relations to be established with it, have become in truth the foundation of the measures which have been adopted by Government on these important subjects.

5. The Governor-General in Council has great pleasure in conveying to you this testimony of approbation of that part of your proceedings which appears to him entitled to it, and His Lordship in Council has only to regret that the points which are deemed reprehensible in your conduct are of a nature too important to admit the suppression of sentiments calculated to excite painful sensations in your mind, but demanded, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council by the occasion, for the maintenance of subordination both in the Civil and Military Department of the State.

6. You will be pleased to deliver over the public documents in your possession connected with the political duties of your command to the Resident at Delhi.

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41. *Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel D.* Ochterlony*, to Raja* Sahib Singh *of Putteealah,—dated 2nd May 1809.*

Letter from Colonel Ochterlony to the Raja of Patiála.

When I had the pleasure of a personal meeting with you at Putteealah, and on many other occasions through your Vakeel, I had the satisfaction of making you acquainted with the generous disposition of the British Government in sending a detachment of troops for the protection of the Chiefs on

Letter from Colonel Ochterlony to the Raja of Patiála.

this side of the River Sutledge in assent to your and their repeated application to be protected from violence and oppression. A Treaty has also been concluded on the 25th of April 1809 between Rajah Runjeet Sing and Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government in which it is particularly provided that Rajah Runjeet Sing shall in future abstain from the acts of violence which he had been accustomed to pursue, and in which he has renounced in future all right and authority to interfere with the Chiefs of Malwah.

Agreeably to this Treaty, of such benefit to the interests of all the Chiefs and particularly to you, by which you are all received into the protection of the British Government, I am convinced that, in return for such distinguished display of their favor, you will seek the pleasure of the British Government above every other consideration.

For your further satisfaction I have the pleasure of acquainting you with the substance of instructions which I have just received from Government regarding the Chiefs of Malwah :—

1st.—In future the country of all the Chiefs on this side of the river shall be guarded from the encroachments of Rajah Runjeet Sing.

2nd.—For the protection thus granted to the Chiefs no tribute shall be demanded.

3rd.—The Chiefs shall remain in full exercise of all their usual and former rights and privileges in their own possessions.

4th.—Should the British army, through views of general welfare, have occasion to pass through this country, the Chiefs shall to the utmost of their power assist the British troops with supplies and every other necessaries.

5th.—Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering the country on this side of the river, all the Chiefs, agreeably to the rules of friendship and of

mutual interest, shall join their force to those of the British and make one cause in expelling the enemy.

Letter from Colonel Ochterlony to the Raja of Patiála.

6th.—All Europe articles which may be bringing for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass without the demand of the duty by the *Thannadars* and *Sayerdars* of the several Chiefs of Malwah.

7th.—Also all horses for the use of the army, purchased in the district of Sirhind or any other quarter, the bringers of which are provided with passports from the Resident at Dehli or Officers Commanding the district of Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass without duty.

(True translation.)

K. B. STUART.

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42. *Translation of an Ittallah-nameh addressed to the Chiefs of the country of Malwah and Sirhind on this side of the River Sutledge,—dated 2nd May 1809.*

Proclamation to the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs.

It is clearer than the sun and better proved than the existence of yesterday that the marching of a detachment of British troops to this side of the river Sutledge was entirely at the application and earnest entreaty of the several Chiefs, and originated solely from friendly considerations in the British Government to preserve them in their possessions and independence. A Treaty having been concluded on the 25th of April 1809 between Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government and Maharaja Runjeet Sing, agreeably to the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwah and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of the British Government as contained in the seven following articles :—

1st.—The country of the Chiefs of Malwah and Sirhind having entered under the British protection, they shall in future be secured from the authority and influence of

Proclamation to the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs.

Maharaja Runjeet Sing conformably to the terms of the Treaty.

2nd.—All the country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

3rd.—The Chiefs shall remain in the full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were received under the British protection.

4th.—Should a British force on purposes of general welfare be required to march through the country of the said Chiefs, it is necessary and incumbent that every Chief shall within his own possessions assist and furnish to the full of his power such force with supplies of grain and other necessaries, which may be demanded.

5th.—Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country, friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British army with all their forces, and exerting themselves in expelling the enemy act under discipline and proper obedience.

6th.—All Europe articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass by the *Thannadars* and *Sayerdars* of the several Chiefs without molestation and the demand of duty.

7th.—All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry regiments, whether in the district of Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being provided with sealed *rahdaries* from the Resident at Dehlie or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass through the country of the said Chiefs without molestation or the demand of duty.

(True translation.)

K. B. STUART.

43. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 13, dated Loodeana, 6th May 1809.*

Proclamation to the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs.

I HAVE the honor to transmit you herewith a copy of a letter, with translations, written to the Raja of Putteealah in consequence of the instructions contained in your dispatch of the 10th ultimo.[1]

2. Similar letters have been written to all the southern Chiefs who solicited our protection, varying only in trifles adapted to the person addressed.

3. I have also given to all the Vakeels in attendance on me an *Ittillah* or *Ishtiar nameh*, a copy of which, with translation, I have also the honor to transmit under the envelope, and copies of this latter document have also been sent to the restored Chiefs of Khur, Furreedkote and Mullair Kotlah, as well as to the actual dependants of Raja Runjeet Sing possessing lands on this side of the Sutledge, with the exception of Jodh Sing, Kulsiah, to whom I have delayed the transmission, as, the conduct of that Chief having been represented to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, an official paper of this nature might be construed into an act of indemnity interfering with His Lordship's decision, whilst the exception for a short period will augment his estimation of any lenity shewn.

Loyalty of Chiefs.

4. I have omitted hitherto to mention that, notwithstanding my repeated observations to Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing that their attendance with their troops was no longer necessary, these Chiefs as well as those of Putteealah and Nabah declined the permission to depart till the actual surrender of Furreedkote convinced them of the certainty of an amicable accommodation of all differences.

5. The whole conduct of Rajah Bhaug Sing had been marked by such a sense of propriety and attachment that I could not refuse to his solicitation the usual presents on

[1] 38 *supra*.

his taking leave, which denote favor, and, though by no means so well satisfied with Bhye Lall Sing, I found I could not make a distinction between them, without entering into discussions which had now become unnecessary and of accusations which he would deny and I was not disposed to support. I therefore gave to both the customary presents at their taking leave.

Question of retention or otherwise of Ludhiána.

6. The communication of the determination of Government to withdraw this post at an early period I have ventured for the present to withhold, as the expenses which have been incurred, both in the fort and in establishing cantonments, may induce the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to change that intention, and in this reserve I have been further induced by orders from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief indicative of a longer continuance at this post than appears to have been in contemplation when your letter was written.

7. Feeling as I do the fullest conviction that the protection of the Southern Chiefs has been fully effected by the declaration of the right to protect, it appears a contradiction to attach much value or importance to this place as a post, more particularly when I acknowledge that some of the inconveniences described in your letter will doubtless be experienced, but I cannot contemplate its relinquishment without a very sincere regret, estimating its importance only as connected with that yet possible event which first suggested the advantage to be derived from the maintenance of a force in this advanced position.

8. As it affects the Rajah of Lahore, it is certainly a menacing position, but as an object of jealousy it will every day be viewed with more and more indifference as our forbearance and moderation become more conspicuous. As a grand step in advance towards a European enemy, it cannot I should imagine be considered unimportant, and as a perpetual memento of the obligations due to us by the Chiefs we protect

and of the fidelity and attachment we have a consequent right to expect it will have its use. Question of retention or otherwise of Ludhiána.

9. Whatever Raja Bhaug Sing may urge to the contrary, he must in time (if not already) be fully sensible of the great advantages derived from troops being stationed in the district, and the possession of the fort and ground occupied by the cantonments kept for purposes of exercise would be amply paid for at Rs. 500 a month or Rs. 6,000 per annum.

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44. *Translation of a letter without date from Raja* RUNJEET SING.

I HAVE received your kind letter conveying to me agreeable news of your welfare, health, and acquainting me with the unjust conduct of Goorbha Sing towards Kesar Sing in having taken possession of several villages belonging to the latter, recommending me to take cognizance of the affair, also other particulars. Letter from Raja Ranjit Singh.

I have already written to Goorbha Sing ordering the evacuation of the places belonging to Kesar Sing and forbidding his offering any injustice to the said person and a servant on my own part has received the strongest charge and injunctions to caution him in future against conduct which may cause your disapprobation, which he has been ordered to pay every attention to avoid. Should any unworthy conduct a second time proceed from him you may depend that proper notice shall be taken of it. You have alluded that he might be the means of (God forbid) estranging the mutual friendship. Dear Sir, what can this mean? By the blessing of the self-sufficient Disposer, a Treaty of mutual good-will and friendship has been happily concluded between the two mighty States, and unceasing pains are taking on both sides for its preservation. It cannot be impaired by the instigation of such a person, who shall not even be allowed to draw his

breath, but for the good of both States. As far as regards me and this affair, you may put your mind perfectly at ease. It would be very improper to represent it to Calcutta, and I hope this shall not be done. In every instance I have taken, and shall take, proper care that there be no cause of difference considering both sides to be a family of one. I hope you will without ceremony write to me on any affair or business, assured that I shall accomplish the same. May the days of joy and happiness belong to your wishes.

(True translation.)

K. B. STUART.

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45. *From Lieutenant-Colonel P. CAREY, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated Head Quarters, Meerut, 23rd May 1809.*

Resignation by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony of his command at Ludhiána.

BY direction of the Commander-in-Chief, I have the honor to transmit for your information copy of a General Order dated 22nd instant, directing Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to resign the command of the detachment of British troops at Loodhiana to Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson, the next senior officer, when it may be convenient to him to do so, and you will perceive by the accompanying copy of my letter to the latter officer that he has been apprized of the intentions and wishes of Government regarding the civil duties which may devolve on him in his new command.

With reference to the 24th paragraph of Mr. Edmonstone's letter to my address of the 29th April, respecting the instructions of Government to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, under date the 10th ultimo, I have in obedience to His Excellency's command addressed a letter to that officer, of which the enclosed is a copy, and when I am honored with his reply you shall be made acquainted therewith.

ENCLOSURE TO 45.

From Lieutenant-Colonel P. CAREY, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhiana,—dated Meerut, 22nd May 1809.

Resignation by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony of his command at Ludhiána.

WHEN I had the honor to address you on the 20th instant it did not appear to the Commander-in-Chief that any instructions regarding the political functions of your command were necessary. It has, however, since occurred to His Excellency as well as to Mr. Seton that, in the event of your being engaged in any correspondence with the Sikh Chiefs in the course of carrying into effect the instructions of Government to your address under date the 10th ultimo, and of your having made to them any explanatory communications which are not final, it would be, His Excellency conceives, for the advantage of the public service that you should continue to hold your present command until the whole be determined, since it would be much more easy for you to finish what you have begun (more especially while at Ludhiana) than for the Resident at Delhi to take up the business and bring it to a conclusion.

It is, however, by no means the wish of the Commander-in-Chief that the above suggestion should occasion your detention at Ludhiana one moment longer than may be agreeable and convenient to you. For this reason no alteration takes place in the order for the transfer of your command to Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson, which is worded as His Excellency had directed before he deemed it advisable to desire me to address you on this subject.

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46. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated Loodeana, 25th May 1809.*

I HAD last night the honor to receive your letter of the 29th ultimo,[1] and on the evening of the 23rd instant I received from the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief a copy of your dispatch of the same date.

[1] 40 *supra*.

Explanation of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the censure passed on him.

2. I feel myself perfectly inadequate to express the regret, contrition and gratitude, which these communications have excited, and I can only hope that His Lordship will do justice to those sentiments which I have not language to define.

3. I would wish to think that there are few officers in the service who expect and exact more rigid attention to the essentials of discipline from those under his command than myself, and I feel a firm persuasion no one is more disposed to show respect, deference and obedience to superiors; it was not therefore without very sincere concern that, whilst I felt myself compelled to acknowledge the force and justice of every argument in your address to Lieutenant-Colonel Carey, I was also obliged to admit that I had permitted circumstances and feelings to lead me apparently to act in direct contradiction to my principles and practice.

4. Submitting therefore with the utmost deference to His Lordship's decision and acknowledging with gratitude the lenity I have experienced, I trust I may be permitted, without transgressing the bounds of respect, to attempt to extenuate, and to this end I must solicit His Lordship's attention to a distinction which, however erroneous, had a considerable share in the censure of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

5. It struck me that a general order gravely promulgated on full and mature deliberation might be considered as essentially different from a letter of instructions written under the impression of an inaccurate and erroneous report. A very strong and important fact was unknown to His Excellency when the letter of the 23rd of March was written, and I conceived it not only justifiable but necessary to report for His Excellency's information that the insult and aggression alluded to appeared to me to have originated in the circumstances of Captain Matthews encamping under the walls of a fort of the Rajah of Lahore with less ceremony than would have been observed at one of our own, and it therefore became

necessary I should appeal to those customs and usages which were familiar to His Excellency, and the infringement of which on the part of our troops the Commander-in-Chief was not then aware of.

Explanation of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the censure passed on him.

6. An investigation had been ordered, but the Adjutant-General's letter was written before the result of that investigation had been reported to His Excellency, and what is noticed in the 11th paragraph of your letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Carey as objections to the Commander-in-Chief's order were meant only as observations arising from the very great difference which appeared between the investigation by Major Adams and report of Captain Matthews. My expressions have very imperfectly conveyed my meaning, if they seem to imply disobedience or even an objection unjustified by that variation, and which were submitted to His Excellency's judgment and consideration, not merely as an act of duty, but with a hope that they would prove acceptable.

7. In the midst of a native territory where every peasant is armed, where shooting at a mark is a constant practice, where every revolving moon is ushered in by a discharge of musquetry, and the celebration of every festival is attended with a waste of gunpowder, I confess I felt myself embarrassed by instructions which seemed to me to leave the population of the country at the discretion of any officer who might interpret accidents into aggression, mistake merriment for insult, or resent indiscretions produced by his own intemperance or misconduct. In elucidation of these suppositions I hope I may be allowed to refer to the report of Major Adams where the *Thanahdar* declared that the shots fired were at a mark, where it is proved that the followers of Captain Matthews' detachment unmolested purchased grain and other articles of necessary consumption, and where it is shown that in order to form a road for his guns that officer threw part of the glacis into the ditch.

8. My principal aim in submitting these observations to His Excellency's consideration was a hope that they would

Explanation of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the censure passed on him.

produce such a modification of the order as would at least transfer the discretionary power of inflicting punishment from every Subaltern entrusted with the command of a small party to the officer holding the general command of the detachment. In the attainment of this object, dictated by strong feeling, I certainly had no thought of the Raja of Lahore or his adherents, the Envoy or my own political duties. It was an effort to obviate measures which appeared to me unnecessarily harsh and severe, and I am at this moment convinced that if I had been happy enough to have made my motives intelligible, instead of being suspected of premeditated disrespect and disobedience, I should have been considered to have rendered a service most grateful to His Excellency's feelings and disposition. I entreat His Lordship will believe my most solemn assurances that I had not the most distant idea of disrespect, and that I lament most sincerely that my language could bear an interpretation so foreign to my intentions, or lead to an idea of either civil or military insubordination equally repugnant to my principles and distant from my contemplation.

9. Of my resignation I shall not offer a defence. It arose not from any but many circumstances, some of which would be unnecessary and some perhaps improper to be brought forward. I must be dead to every sense of honor, ambition and interest if I could be insensible of the importance of my command and of the great and flattering distinction it conferred. It was not therefore without reluctance that I yielded to a strong conviction that it was the most acceptable sacrifice I could make to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and would in the strongest and most satisfactory manner evince my dutiful respect for his sentiments, opinions and wishes.

10. The view in which His Lordship has seen my conduct must be a subject of regret, but, whilst I acknowledge with sentiments of profound gratitude that even under these impressions justice has been tempered by mercy, I cannot

but indulge a hope that there may be found in this respectful explanation some circumstances which will palliate my errors and induce His Lordship not altogether to withdraw those favorable sentiments which first honored me by the selection for this command, and which have even in this last instance condescended to soften the severity of reprehension.

Explanation of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the censure passed on him.

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47. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to Lieutenant-Colonel CAREY, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Loodeana, 26th May 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter accompanying the copy of a dispatch from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to your address and your private letter of the 22nd instant.

In His Excellency's concurrence in the opinion held by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General I feel the sincerest satisfaction, but I cannot too often repeat that, however unfortunate I may have been in my expressions, I never for a moment intentionally violated the deference and submission due to His Excellency's situation and authority.

Of my resignation I shall not offer a defence unless by a reiteration of my assurances that I thought it the strongest proof I could at the moment give of my respectful submission to His Excellency's supposed opinions, but the impressions under which that resignation was offered having been removed by your kind and candid private communications, I cannot transmit the enclosed copy of my dispatch to Mr. Seton without acknowledging that it would be most grateful to my feelings to owe my restoration to the command to His Excellency's recommendation, not only as it would affect me in the opinion of Government on the only point which has incurred their unqualified censure and disapprobation, but as it would evince His Excellency's concurrence in the indulgent view taken of my conduct by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

48. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated 26th May 1809.*

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

I DO not lose a moment in transmitting you a copy of a letter which I have received from the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

2. In thus early drawing your attention to this letter and to the observations which I shall have the honor to make on the arrangements which it has pleased His Lordship to make in consequence of my resignation of this command, I am governed by a sense of duty which supersedes every apprehension of their being liable to a suspicion of an interested or selfish nature.

3. The letter from His Excellency's Secretary supposes that I may have made some communication of a description which not being final may require explanation or elucidation, and for these purposes alone His Excellency, concurring in opinion with you, conceives it of importance to the publick service that I should remain till they are completed. Of this description, however, there are only two which are likely to require particular reference to Government, and it is probable instructions on both may arrive before I can reach Kurnaul, which will render all reference unnecessary.

4. It is not therefore on any ground of effecting a final explanation of any particular business, but on general principles of possible publick advantage and utility, that I beg leave to solicit your opinion how far, under my notion of probable benefit, it would be expedient or proper for me to remain in the actual discharge of my political duties till the further pleasure of His Lordship in Council can be received.

5. You are already apprized of the reasons which for the present have induced me to withhold any communications respecting the probability of the relinquishment of the advanced position, and you are aware that the Rajah of Lahore has received intimation that in all cases where he deems

it necessary he is to correspond and communicate with and through me as the Officer Commanding at Loodeana.

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

6. The extensive districts held by himself and his dependants, the defection of some, his right to others, and the requisite permission to pass troops to this side of the Sutledge for the chastisement of the disaffected, and the general controul of all, have been already the present cause of correspondence and must be, from the nature of the Treaty and the locality of the command, a continual recurrence.

7. To appeal in all such cases, trivial perhaps and unimportant in their nature, but of obvious necessity to pursue, to you at Delhi will be such an additional burthen to your other duties, and occasion so great and injurious, and of course disgusting delays to the parties interested, that I consider it a duty to suggest to you, with your concurrence and support to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, either that I should remain in command in the exercise of my political functions till the pleasure of Government is known, or that His Excellency should take on himself to select such officer as he may deem competent and invest him with similar powers under his own authority.

8. As I have taken the liberty ever since my resignation to state my ideas of the importance of this post, it would be intrusive to press the subject again on the attention of His Lordship in Council, but I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous if I venture to suggest an arrangement, in the event of a continued determination to withdraw the post of Loodeana, which in my humble judgment would preserve many, if not all, the advantages without any very material expense or inconvenience, which is to retain possession of the fort and to garrison it with such a number of companies as His Excellency may think proper, and that it should be made the stationary residence of an officer, civil or military, who under your orders should have charge of all political communications with the Rajah of Lahore and a general controul and superintendence of the southern Chieftains.

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

9. Without an interference beyond the wishes and intentions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, I feel a conviction that much anarchy and discord amongst the Chiefs may be avoided by the simple expression of his wishes or recommendation. Their dependence and submission would be confirmed, and all references respecting the passage of troops or any other communications with the Rajah of Lahore would be easily accelerated, whilst the officer so stationed would, with proper management, keep up such correspondence and obtain such intelligence as may eventually prove of the first importance.

10. The mere occupancy of the Fort of Loodeana by a few companies I consider of the greatest consequence, and the experienced abilities, address, firmness and judgment of Mr. Metcalfe could in no place be more usefully employed till a wider field is offered for the exercise of his approved talents.

11. In consequence of the opinions and observations which I have here ventured to offer, I shall consider myself at liberty to avail myself of His Excellency's idea of publick expediency and remain in command till I receive His Excellency's further orders on a consideration of this letter. At the same time I earnestly request you will forward my letter express to Government, for unless His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief thinks my propositions inadmissible or improper, I cannot think myself justified in quitting the command, unless relieved of my political functions on the spot, also till the Right Honorable the Governor-General is in possession of my sentiments.

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49. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—demi-official dated 26th May 1809.*

CONVINCED that a person vested with political functions, and competent to communicate when necessary with the Rajah of Lahore, is of more importance, or at least of as much importance as the post itself, I have sent you the accompanying public letters *express.*

It is particularly necessary and important whilst the detachment remains, but I have already said that protection is given by assuring the right to protect. Yet so many, and so various, are the cases for a Political Agent, so much added toil would be imposed on you, and so many benefits would I conceive arise from one being stationed in the Fort of Loodeana in my opinion, that I should have been guilty of a most reprehensible neglect and a more unworthy silliness if I had suffered any circumstances to restrain an unreserved communication of my sentiments on an occasion so important.

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

Were I the Commander-in-Chief, I should not hesitate to order Metcalfe to Loodeana or invest some military man with my political duties *pro tempore*. If the detachment is to be withdrawn he can retire from political power with it, but it is my deliberate opinion that such a situation should exist even if the detachment is withdrawn. I earnestly request you will forward my letter by express to Government, for, unless His Excellency thinks my propositions inadmissible or improper, I do not, I cannot, think myself justified in quitting the command till the Governor-General is in possession of my sentiments.

No delay need take place in the transmission, as I have sent a copy to the Secretary for His Excellency's information, opinion and orders.

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50. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated 29th May 1809.*

I AM just honored by the receipt of your dispatch of the 26th instant,[1] stating it as your opinion that your quitting Ludhianeh without leaving at that post some person vested with political authority to correspond with Rajah Runjeet Sing and other Sikh Chiefs for the purpose of adjusting without delay the numerous matters of reference likely to occur, would be attended with inconvenience to the public service.

[1] 49 *supra*.

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

2. I have no hesitation in acknowledging that, in my humble opinion, your view of the matter is very just, and that, for some time at least, the furtherance of the public service would be promoted by continuing to station at Ludhianeh a person of ability, experience and local knowledge, vested with political powers for the purpose of adjusting without delay all disputed points and all those matters of doubtful right, which may be expected to take place, until the happy operation of the late amicable arrangements, by softening animosity and inspiring confidence, shall have lessened the probability of any such occurrence.

3. The above, however, is only the unimportant opinion of an insignificant individual. Until the pleasure of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council can be known, it will rest with the wisdom of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to adopt such arrangements as he may deem expedient and suited to the circumstances of the occasion.

P.S.—A copy of this letter shall be sent to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as also, accompanied by a transcript of your letter to my address, to the Chief Secretary.

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51. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel P. CAREY, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,—dated 29th May 1809.*

HAVING received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony expressing his sense of the inconvenience to the public service with which his quitting Ludhianeh at this particular time would probably be attended, unless he were authorized to make over to some able and experienced person on the spot the charge of the political branch of his appointment, I have the honor to transmit a copy of my reply, which you are requested to be pleased to lay before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to whom it would appear Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony has already submitted a copy of his letter to my address.

52. *From Lieutenant-Colonel P. CAREY, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated 31st May 1809.*

Arrangements consequent on the resignation of his command by Colonel Ochterlony.

I HAVE received the honor of your letter of yesterday's date, transmitting the copy of your reply to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's dispatch to your address of the 26th instant.

The Commander-in-Chief is much obliged for the communication of your sentiments on the measure proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, whose wish to retain the command of the Post at Ludhiana, you will perceive by the accompanying copy of a letter which I have this day addressed to him, His Excellency has approved until the pleasure of Government can be known. For your further information I have the honor to enclose a copy of the Lieutenant-Colonel's letter to which mine is in reply.

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53. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated 3rd June 1809.*

Orders in connection with the conduct of the Chief of Kalsia.

YOU will be apprized by my letter of this date to Mr. Metcalfe, transmitted to you under an open cover for your perusal, of the intention of the Honorable the Governor-General in Council to direct a communication to you of his sentiments regarding the conduct of Jodh Sing of Chicherowlee as described in Mr. Metcalfe's dispatch No. 85, and I now proceed to execute the orders of Government upon that subject.

2. The general principles, which must regulate the determination of Government on the question submitted to its consideration by Mr. Metcalfe, were stated in my letter to your address of the 20th of March, and need not therefore be repeated. That Jodh Sing would have united his interests with those of Runjeet Sing in the event of a rupture between the British Government and the latter, is more than probable, but to proceed to the punishment of the former for acts which,

Orders in connection with the conduct of the Chief of Kalsia.

although they manifested that disposition, were of a character much less hostile than those which have been overlooked in Rajah Runjeet Sing himself, would in the judgment of His Lordship in Council be inconsistent and discreditable,—inconsistent, because the acts of Runjeet Sing in which Jodh Sing may be considered to be implicated by his adherence to the interests of the former have been consigned to oblivion, and consequently to punish the adherent of Runjeet Sing would be collaterally to resent the conduct of the latter when all cause of difference has declaredly ceased to exist; and discreditable, because it might expose us to the imputation of being guided in selecting the object of our resentment by motives of apprehension rather than of justice, and of inflicting upon the weak and defenceless the punishment of offences which superior power and means of resistance had induced us to compromise or overlook in another.

3. No act of positive hostility appears to be alleged against Jodh Sing. His reported advice to Runjeet Sing on the subject of resisting the requisitions of the British Government cannot well be stated as an exception, since it is stated merely as a report, and cannot therefore form a ground of proceeding. As Mr. Metcalfe observes, he had that interest at stake with both Governments which would naturally lead him to temporize, and he had received benefits, not, like the other Sikh Chiefs, injuries, at the hands of Runjeet Sing. He was not therefore equally concerned with them in the measures adopted for their protection.

4. In the present state of amicable connection with Rajah Runjeet Sing, Jodh Singh's attachment to the latter cannot be considered an offence against the British Government; but, as Mr. Metcalfe observes, it will be a ground of suspicion and a cause of vigilance if ever that connection should be impaired or dissolved. In the meantime, however, so long as Jodh Sing shall abstain from any acts of an hostile or unfriendly nature towards the British Government it would be a measure of injustice to deprive him of his possessions.

5. On these grounds the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that, with respect to the lands which he possesses on this side of the Sutledge, Jodh Sing should be included in the general arrangement prescribed with regard to the other Sikh Chiefs placed under our protection.

Orders in connection with the conduct of the Chief of Kalsia.

6. The Governor-General in Council regrets that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony should have excepted Jodh Sing from the number of the Chiefs to whom he transmitted the proclamation declaring the nature and extent of the relations in future to subsist between the British Government and the dependent Chiefs, because that omission was a tacit acknowledgment of his dependance upon Runjeet Sing, even for the lands which he holds on this side of the Sutledge. It is the wish of His Lordship in Council therefore that the same declarations should be made to him which have been made to the other Sikh Chiefs.

7. Mr. Metcalfe has observed that if the late conduct of Jodh Sing should not be noticed, and if he should enjoy every advantage in common with those who acknowledge the protection of the British Government, his case would afford a bad example to others. But the advantage which others are to derive from our protection, that of being relieved from the hazard of the Rajah's future encroachments, is not under present circumstances an object of solicitude to him, and consequently there is no standard of comparison between their case and his. On the other hand, it is consistent with the general system of our late arrangements, and even forms a part of that system, to consider Jodh Sing as far as respects the territory in his possession on this side of the Sutledge among the number of those who are placed in a condition of dependance upon the British Government. In extending to him therefore the declaration of our protection we prosecute our own views rather than confer on him an acknowledged benefit, and the evil example of bestowing equal advantages on those who have manifested their attachment to our cause and those who have opposed it cannot be considered to touch the present question.

Orders in connection with the conduct of the Chief of Kalsia.

7. The preceding observations bear reference to a part of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's letter No. 13, dated the 6th ultimo.[1] You will receive in a separate dispatch the instructions of Government with reference to the other points of communication contained in that letter and in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's letter of the 4th ultimo.

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54. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated 3rd June 1809.*

Restoration to the Chief of Thánesar of lands seized by Ranjit Singh.

IN my dispatch of this date I had the honor to inform you that I had been directed to communicate to you in a separate address the instructions of Government on the subject of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's dispatches Nos. 12 and 13, dated respectively the 4th and 6th of May. The instructions of Government are necessarily addressed to you in consequence of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's resignation of the duties of his late command.

2. To provide for the case of your not having received copies of those dispatches, transcripts of them are enclosed.

3. In the 5th paragraph of his dispatch No. 12, Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony has justly anticipated the determination of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council on the question which it was the object of that dispatch to submit to the consideration of Government. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony acted with propriety in restoring to Bhunga Sing the districts of Burareh and Udaweh, which had been wrested from him by Rajah Runjeet Sing during his last expedition to the southward, although those lands were formerly usurped by Bhunga Sing and by an act of personal interest, involving, however, an act of justice, had been restored by Runjeet Sing to the legitimate owner. The

[1] 43 *supra.*

reasons, which appear to the Governor-General in Council to preclude any obligation on the part of the British Government to investigate the legality of the titles to lands possessed by the Sikh Chiefs antecedently to the Rajah of Lahore's last expedition and wrested from them on that occasion, having already been fully stated in the dispatch to which Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony refers and in my letter to his address of the 6th of February, it is unnecessary to renew the discussion of that subject. It is sufficient to signify to you the desire of the Governor-General in Council that should it be requisite to announce the decision of the British Government on the question stated by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, you will explain the principle of our proceedings with regard to the Rajah's recent conquests, namely that of placing the territories between the Sutledge and the Jumna in the same condition with respect to actual occupation as that which existed at the period of the Rajah of Lahore's last expedition without entering into an investigation of anterior rights. The Governor-General in Council does not deem it necessary under present circumstances to pass any observations on the tenor of the Proclamation stated to have been issued under the orders of the Major-General commanding in the field, of which a copy and translation form enclosures in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's dispatch No. 12.

Restoration to the Chief of Thánesar of lands seized by Ranjit Singh.

4. The terms of the Proclamation promulgated by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony among the Sikh Chiefs, as reported in his dispatch No. 13, are conformable to the instructions of Government contained in my letter to his address of the 10th of April.[1] His Lordship in Council, however, observes that the declarations stated in the circular letters, which Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony addressed to the Rajah of Putteealah and others, differ in language, though not perhaps in substance, from those of the Proclamation, and some inconvenience may possibly arise from this variation, especially from the terms of the 1st Article, which in the circular letter declares the country of all the Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge to be under the

Defect in the terms of the circular letters addressed to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

[1] 38 *supra*.

protection of the British Government, whilst in the Proclamation this declaration is properly qualified by a reference to the provisions of the Treaty, which recognizing certain dependants of the Rajah on this side of the Sutledge cannot be supposed to include them in a guarantee intended to operate against his encroachments and authority. This error, however, cannot now be rectified, as the letters cannot be recalled, and all that can be done is to draw your attention to it in order that you may be prepared, when the occasion may require it, to explain the actual intentions of the British Government with respect to all persons holding lands between the two rivers.

5. I am directed to express to you the wish of the Governor-General in Council to receive a statement of the Chiefs and territories thus placed under the protection of the British Government and of those which are excluded by the terms of the 2nd Article of the Treaty.

6. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in conferring the usual presents on Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Laul Sing on the occasion of their taking leave.

Compensation to the Raja of Jhínd for the occupation of Ludhiána.

7. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony having stated in his dispatch now referred to that the sum of 500 rupees per mensem would form an ample compensation to Bhaug Sing for the loss which he sustains by our occupation of the post of Lodhiana, His Lordship in Council authorizes the payment of that amount from the date of the arrival of the detachment at that post until it shall be withdrawn.

Orders regarding the tenure of the post of Ludhiána.

8. With regard to the expediency of withdrawing that detachment, the opinion and determination of Government as already declared are not altered by the observations stated by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony on that subject. The question has been fully discussed, and it only occurs to His Lordship in Council to add that the propriety of manifesting a confidence in the Rajah of Lahore's adherence to the faith of his engagements renders the removal of the detachment almost a necessary consequence of the conclusion of the late Treaty;

for, the detachment having been stationed for the express purpose of guarding against the Rajah's encroachments when the conclusion of a Treaty embracing that object was not under contemplation, its continuance would manifest a distrust of the Rajah's faith now pledged by a solemn engagement to abstain from those encroachments which the detachment was intended to prevent, and, although the Rajah has been compelled to acquiesce in its continuance, the restoration of real confidence is incompatible with that exterior indication of mistrust which the permanent establishment of a British post at Lodhiana for the purpose above described necessarily involves. You will accordingly observe that the Governor-General in his letter to the Rajah of Lahore, on this assumed ground of reliance on the Rajah's public faith, has declared the intention of withdrawing the detachment as soon as it shall be found convenient, maintaining at the same time the privilege of marching troops into the territories of our dependants beween the two rivers whenever occasion may require.

Orders regarding the tenure of the post of Ludhiána.

9. Copies of both my dispatches of this date to your address will be transmitted for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

10. I am directed to take this opportunity of observing that the means of communication with Rajah Runjeet Sing, the necessity of which with reference to past transactions is likely to be frequent, would be materially facilitated if the Rajah could be induced to station a Vakeel at Delhi, and this point is accordingly recommended to your attention.

Proposed stationing of a Lahore Vakil at Delhi.

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55. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated 11th June 1809.*

I have the honor to transmit a letter to Rajah Runjeet Sing, which I request you to be pleased to forward to him as speedily as possible, as it contains the ratified copy of the Treaty concluded between the British Government and that Chief, and as it is extremely desirable that it should reach

Transmission of the ratified copy of the Treaty with Raja Ranjit Singh.

him on or before the 24th of this month, as Mr. Metcalfe engaged that it should be in his possession within two months from the 25th April last.

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56. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated 12th June 1809.*

WHEN Mr. Metcalfe left this part of the country to proceed to the Presidency, he took the precaution to request me to open any public dispatches to his address which might reach this place, and in the event of their containing instructions which required being carried into immediate execution, to do, without delay, whatever might be necessary,—a desire which had a particular reference to the expected arrival of the ratified copy of the Treaty concluded between the British Government and Rajah Runjeet Sing. In conformity to that desire, I opened your dispatch of the 30th ultimo to Mr. Metcalfe, which reached Dehli yesterday afternoon, and, finding that it contained the ratified copy of the Treaty in question, and that it was deemed desirable that it should be delivered to that Chief within two months from the 25th April last, agreeably to the engagement of Mr. Metcalfe, I thought it my duty to forward it without delay. I accordingly dispatched it last night to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony at Ludhianeh and requested him to transmit it immediately to Lahore. It was accompanied by an explanatory letter from myself to the Rajah, a copy and translation of which, as also a copy of my letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, you will be pleased to receive enclosed.

2. The necessary communications on the subject shall be made by this night's post to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and to Mr. Metcalfe.

ENCLOSURE TO 56.

Translation of a letter from the Resident at Dehli to Rajah RUNJEET SING of Lahore.

WHEN Mr. Metcalfe delivered to you the copy under his seal of the Treaty concluded between the British Government and you, he engaged to procure, within the space of two months from that time, the ratification thereof under the signature of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council. The copy of the Treaty so ratified has now reached this place, and would have been delivered to you by Mr. Metcalfe had he still been with you. But, as that gentleman is now on his way to Calcutta, the pleasing task of forwarding it devolves upon me. You will accordingly be pleased to receive it herewith, and are requested to have the goodness to return the copy formerly delivered to you by Mr. Metcalfe. Letter from the Resident at Delhi to Raja Ranjit Singh.

I cannot but consider myself as peculiarly fortunate in thus being the medium of conveying to you an instrument establishing the relations of an amity and a concord so desirable and which will last to the end of time.

In a few days you will receive the reply of the Right Honorable the Governor-General to your friendly letter to His Lordship. Meanwhile the accompanying ratified copy of the Treaty is forwarded without awaiting the preparation of that reply, in order to secure its delivery to you within two months, as engaged by Mr. Metcalfe.

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57. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 13th June 1809.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 25th [1] and 27th ultimo,[2] and the Resident at Delhi has transmitted for the information of Government copies of your letter to his address of the 26th, and of his reply [3], the whole connected with the communications contained in my Restoration of Colonel Ochterlony to his command at Ludhiána.

[1] 46 *supra.*

[2] Not printed.

[3] 48, 49 and 50 *supra.*

Restoration of Colonel Ochterlony to his command at Ludhiána.

despatches to your address and to that of the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the 29th of April. [1]

2. The sentiments expressed in your letters of the 25th and 27th ultimo are considered by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to be in the highest degree creditable to your candor and to those honorable principles of which the uniform tenor of your public conduct has afforded unquestionable proof. His Lordship gives implicit credit to the explanations which you have afforded of the motives and objects of your proceedings in those points in which they have appeared exceptionable, and has no hesitation in authorizing an assurance that the errors of judgment ascribed to you on the occasion of the late resignation of your command,—errors admitted to originate in the excess and not in the perversion of the spirit of public zeal,—have produced no alteration of those favorable sentiments which induced the Governor-General in Council to select you for the duties of that command; and His Lordship in Council is happy to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of continuing you in the command of the detachment and in the exercise of the functions originally vested in you so long as the post at Lodhiana shall be maintained. The arrangement described in my despatch to His Excellency's Military Secretary of the 29th of April is accordingly suspended, and the necessary intimation to this effect will be immediately transmitted to His Excellency and to the Resident at Delhi.

3. Under the arrangement adopted in consequence of the resignation of your command, the instructions of Government on the subjects of your dispatches Nos. 12 and 13, dated the 4th and 6th ultimo, have necessarily been addressed to the Resident at Delhi. Copies of them are now enclosed for your information and guidance. If at the period of his receipt of this communication the Resident at Delhi shall not have entered upon the execution of those instructions, that duty will

[1] 40 *supra.*

devolve upon you. In a contrary case the nature and extent of Mr. Seton's proceedings will of course determine the practicability of the transfer, and this point Mr. Seton will be directed to adjust in concert with you.

Question of the maintenance of the post of Ludhiána.

4. The Governor-General in Council has given due attention to the observations contained in your letter to the Resident at Delhi of the 26th ultimo [1] on the subject of the maintenance of the post of Lodhiana, either by the continuance of the whole detachment or by the occupation of the Fort with a proportionate garrison, a military or civil officer being at the same time vested with political powers for the adjustment of local questions.

5. His Lordship in Council observes that the ground of your suggestion still supposes a more extended and minute superintendence and guarantee of the rights and possessions of the Chiefs on this side of the Sutledge, and a greater interference in their concerns than is consistent with the ultimate object of our policy as described in my dispatch to your address of the 10th of April [2] ; and, adhering to the opinions and views therein stated, His Lordship in Council retains his solicitude for the early and entire evacuation of the post of Lodhiana, even although the maintenance of it, in the modified form suggested by you, were compatible with the declaration contained in the Governor-General's late letter to the Rajah of Lahore and with the considerations stated in the 8th paragraph of my dispatch of the 3rd instant [3] to the Resident at Delhi. Unless any new circumstances shall have arisen, motives of convenience as it respects the period of the march of the detachment towards the British territories, and of policy as it relates to the countenance which it may afford to Mr. Elphinstone's eventual retreat from attack through the Punjaub (on which point the sentiments of Government have already been communicated to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief), can now alone be permitted to retard the evacuation of the post of Lodhiana.

[1] 48 *supra*.
[2] 38 *supra*.
[3] 54 *supra*.

Question of the maintenance of the post of Ludhiána.

6. You will infer from the tenor of the present communication that, in the possible event of your having quitted Lodhiana previously to the receipt of this dispatch, it is the wish of the Governor-General in Council that you should return and resume the command.

7. I am further directed to inform you that the orders relative to the cessation of your civil allowance of 500 rupees per mensem are to be considered as rescinded, and also that Lieutenant K. B. Stuart is to continue to hold the situation of Persian Interpreter with the salary annexed to it.

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58. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 26th June 1809.*

Orders regarding the retention of the post of Ludhiána.

I AM directed to transmit to you for your information the enclosed copy of a letter this day addressed by me to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

ENCLOSURE TO 58.

From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel CAREY, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander in Chief,—dated Fort William, the 26th June 1809.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 7th instant, in reply to the observations of Government contained in my letter of the 29th of April on the question of withdrawing the military post at Lodhiana. Mr. Metcalfe's despatch No. 90 on the same subject has also been received.

2. The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council deems it unnecessary to pursue the discussion of a subject which has already been placed in every light in which it is susceptible of being viewed. Whatever the opinion of the Governor-General in Council may still be of the inconvenience and embarrassment attending the maintenance of the post of Lodhiana, the security of the main object of our policy,

that of preventing the extension of Rajah Runjeet Sing's dominions over the territories between the Sutledge and the Jumna now placed under our protection, cannot certainly be exposed to hazard by the continuance of the detachment at that station; whereas that security, in the event of the removal of the detachment, forms the most important subject of doubt in the minds of those reputable authorities whose opinions, founded on local knowledge and experience and directed by judgment and abilities, are entitled to the greatest weight.

Orders regarding the retention of the post of Ludhiána.

3. This consideration therefore, combined with a due respect for those high authorities, has induced the Governor-General in Council to suspend his resolution regarding the immediate removal of the detachment, and to leave the decision of the question to the result of further experience and of future deliberation.

4. His Lordship in Council deems it not improbable that, under a knowledge of the reference to Government on this question, the Resident at Delhi may have judged it proper to postpone the transmission of the Governor-General's letter to Rajah Runjeet Sing, in which the resolution to withdraw the detachment is announced, until apprized of the result of that reference, and under this supposition another letter, in which the passage relative to the detachment is to be omitted, will be immediately prepared and transmitted to the Resident at Delhi, to be substituted for the former. But, as the intention stated in the letter to Runjeet Sing is not only indefinite with respect to the period of withdrawing the detachment, but is combined with an implied latitude of determination respecting the employment of troops in that quarter without being responsible to the Rajah, the resolution stated in this despatch will not be affected by the actual transmission of the Governor-General's first letter to Rajah Runjeet Sing.

5. A copy of this dispatch will be forwarded to the Resident at Delhi and to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony.

59. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated 28th June 1809.*

HAVING received from the Chief Secretary a copy of his dispatch of the 24th ultimo to your address, I think it my duty to re-transfer to you all the correspondence with the Sikh Chiefs which would otherwise have been conducted through me.

Letter from the Governor-General to Raja Ranjit Singh.

2. The enclosed letter from the Right Honorable the Governor-General to Rajah Runjeet Sing reached me two days ago, but, having understood that the road near Tenasser was infested by robbers, I thought it expedient to postpone the transmission of it until I should write to Bhaug Sing on the subject. Having taken that precaution, I think it needless to detain the letter in question any longer. You will be pleased to forward it in the manner which you may deem most speedy and secure. I also have the honor to transmit a copy of a letter from the Chief Secretary to Mr. Metcalfe in which it was enclosed.

ENCLOSURE TO 59.

Translation of a letter from the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India, to Rajah RUNJEET SINGH, written 3rd June 1809.

I HAVE had the pleasure of receiving your letter (recapitulate that received 24th May), and the friendly contents of it have afforded me the highest satisfaction.

The disposition of the British Government towards you has uniformly been of the most amicable nature. The mission of a gentleman of rank to your Court afforded the strongest proof of my desire to cultivate and improve the relations of friendship between the two States. The object of that mission was to warn you of an approaching danger, and to propose the co-operation of the two States in repelling it,—an object obviously incompatible with any other than the most amicable views on my part. Even when circumstances rendered it

Letter from the Governor-General to Raja Ranjit Singh.

necessary to assemble a considerable force near your frontier, notwithstanding the indications on your part of intentions remote from the dictates of friendship,—especially the propositions which you conveyed to Maha Rajah Dowlut Row Scindiah through Goor Dyal Misser and your Vackeels, Inderdeo and Sahib Sing, with the details of which I have long been acquainted,—no attempt was made to disturb the tranquillity of your dominion, and the British Government patiently awaited the effect of amicable negotiations for the fulfilment of requisitions, the justice of which was unquestionable, and no sooner had you complied with them than the main body of the British troops retired from your frontier, and I immediately authorized the conclusion of a Treaty of mutual and perpetual amity.

You have now therefore experienced the most irrefragable proofs of the unfounded nature of those apprehensions regarding the views and design of the British Government with which interested persons had inspired you, and it affords me the highest satisfaction to observe from the tenor of your letter that every sentiment of suspicion is now removed from your mind, and that you are equally solicitous with this Government to preserve and improve the relations of mutual cordiality and good understanding.

I repose the fullest reliance on the professions of sincere attachment contained in your letter and on your strict adherence to the engagements which you have contracted. Such indeed is my confidence in this respect that I shall not now think it necessary to maintain a detachment of British troops in advance for the protection of those Chiefs who are guaranteed by the Treaty. I shall consider them secure against the encroachments of your servants and dependants by the faith of your engagements.

It is accordingly my intention to direct the return of the detachment at present stationed at Lodhiana as soon as may be found convenient. You are now, however, so well convinced of the amicable views and disposition of the British Government

Letter from the Governor-General to Raja Ranjit Singh.

that the continuance or removal of the detachment can be a matter of little concern to you. When the power of the Marhattah Chiefs was established in the north of Hindoostan, their troops were frequently advanced into the country between the Sutledge and the Jumna without occasioning in your mind the slightest apprehension or exciting on your part any enquiry or solicitude regarding the object of their advance. With the experience you have now had of the amicable disposition of the British Government and with your knowledge of its invariable adherence to the obligations of its engagements, which is proverbial throughout Hindoostan, I expect that you will manifest the same degree of confidence in the British Government.

I have already transmitted to you an exact copy of the Treaty as concluded by Mr. Metcalfe ratified by my seal and signatures of the members of this Government, and I have now only to express my firm hope and expectation that the foundations of mutual friendship and good-will thus happily established will continue unimpaired until the end of time.

P.S.—(In reply to the postscript enclosed in the Rajah's letter).—With respect to your desire that the words "null and void" should be omitted, which would in fact be the omission of the 3rd Article of the Treaty, My Friend, it is certainly true that the Article in question cannot be considered absolutely necessary, not only for the reason you have stated, namely, that a departure from the rules of friendship and a violation of the engagement is impossible, but also because without any such express stipulation it is evident that if either party should act in that manner the Treaty would become null and void. But I have not judged it proper to expunge the Article in question, because the Treaty having been settled after much discussion between you and Mr. Metcalfe and appearing to be in all respects proper, I wished to return a copy signed and sealed by myself precisely the same as that which you delivered to Mr. Metcalfe, and because such an alteration would have rendered it necessary to return

the latter and obtain another from you in its amended form, which would have occasioned much delay.

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60. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 1st July 1809.*

I AM directed to transmit to you, for your information and guidance, the enclosed copy of a letter this day addressed by me under the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 60.

From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel CAREY, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,—dated 1st July 1809.

Resumption by original proprietors of territory conquered by Ranjit Singh.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 13th ultimo, enclosing copies of a letter to your address from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony and of your reply, on the subject of the aid to be afforded to Rajah Runjeet Sing in the recovery of certain places forming a part of his early conquests, which the original proprietors, taking advantage of the advance of the British troops, had resumed, and of the expediency of retaining the post of Lodhiana.

2. Mr. Metcalfe's report upon the former of those two subjects, contained in his dispatch No. 88, dated the 21st of May, afforded reason to suppose that the mediation of Mr. Metcalfe and Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony had secured the restoration of the places in question, *viz.*, Bhugta and Sydookee, to the Rajah's authority. On that occasion it was proposed that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony should endeavour to persuade the zemindars to submit peaceably to the Rajah's authority, and if those efforts should fail, that punishment should be inflicted on the part of the Rajah by mutual consent.

Resumption by original proprietors of territory conquered by Ranjit Singh.

To this proposition the Rajah agreed, and in a letter to the Envoy, received the 16th of April, he writes as follows:—

"The zemindars of Bhugta and Sydookee have not yet attended. According to Colonel Ochterlony's recommendation, when they attend, their fault shall certainly be pardoned; and in the event of their delaying to appear an order shall be sent to Dewan Mohkum Chund to punish the two villages with the consent and concurrence of the Colonel, and not on any account to act differently from the Colonel's advice."

3. This arrangement seems entirely conformable to the mode of proceeding recommended by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and perhaps the controul over the measures of the Dewan in recovering the revolted villages, which controul on this occasion the Rajah has consented to place in the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, may obviate the objection which on general principles appears to oppose the expediency of permitting the Rajah to employ his troops on services of this description on the left side of the Sutledge, and which the Governor-General in Council is disposed to think of sufficient force to render advisable the employment of our own troops instead of those of the Rajah on similar occasions. His Lordship in Council will, however, be happy to learn that the success of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's amicable mediation has precluded the necessity of having recourse to force. His Excellency will have observed by the tenor of my letter to Mr. Metcalfe of the 15th ultimo, a copy of which has been transmitted to you for His Excellency's information, that the Governor-General in Council recognized the right of Runjeet Sing to re-occupy the villages in question, and approved the interposition of Mr. Metcalfe and Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony for the purpose of effecting their restoration to the Rajah's authority.

Continuance of the post of Ludhiána.

4. My letter of the 26th ultimo to your address will have apprized His Excellency of the resolution of Government to authorize the continuance of the post of Lodhiana until further orders. It is unnecessary therefore at present to resume the discussion of that subject. It appears proper,

however, to advert to a question which Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony has discussed in his letter to your address of the 6th ultimo, and which is treated more at large in Mr. Metcalfe's dispatch No. 93, dated the 17th ultimo, namely the necessity of our interference in the event of disputes among the Sikh Chieftains and others between the Sutledge and the Jumna, so far at least as to prevent the encroachments of the strong on the possessions of the weak.

Degree of interference in the affairs of the Protected Chiefs.

5. So long as the detachment of British troops shall continue to occupy its advanced post, the Governor-General in Council is aware that our interference in such disputes must in a great degree be unavoidable. It was never the intention of Government publicly to announce a resolution not to interfere; on the contrary, in the instructions of Government to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony of the 6th of February it was declared that Government reserved the right, without acknowledging the obligation, to exercise such interference, and in cases in which our neutrality might tend to the re-establishment of the power and influence of Rajah Runjeet Sing within the territories under our protection, such interference must be exercised, whether the detachment be continued or withdrawn, and by this standard it must be regulated. The cases stated by Mr. Metcalfe exceed the limits of those petty dissensions in which our interference has been considered unnecessary and inexpedient, and are certainly such as would require the interposition of the British Government, and under the powers vested in Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony that officer will consider himself authorized to take cognizance of complaints preferred to him and of occurrences among the Sikh Chieftains according to the general principle above described, referring on occasions of difficulty and doubt for instructions to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

6. As His Excellency may not have received a copy of Mr. Metcalfe's dispatch above referred to, I am directed to transmit enclosed a copy [1] of that part of it which relates to the latter subject of this letter.

[1] Not printed.

7. A copy of this dispatch will be forwarded to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony for his information and guidance, and also to the Resident at Dehli.

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61. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated 15th July 1809.*

Continuance of the post of Ludhiána.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, enclosing a copy of one to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, communicating the intention of Government to authorise the continuance of the detachment at Ludhianeh until further orders.

2. Under the circumstance of the present modification of the former arrangement, it is a matter of deep regret to me that I did not take upon myself the responsibility of postponing the transmission of the reply of the Right Honorable the Governor-General to Rajah Runjeet Sing, until I should know the result of the reference made to Government on the subject of continuing the post at Ludhianeh, since my doing so would have left the question more completely in the hands of Government. I did hesitate as to transmitting or withholding (for a time) the letter, and I did keep it by me from the 24th of June, when it reached me, until the 28th, when it was transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, as you will have been pleased to observe from my letter of that date to your address. What principally induced me to forward it (independently of the regularity of so doing) was the consideration that the communication is so worded as still to leave with the British Government a certain latitude as to the time of withdrawing the detachment, which, the Rajah is informed, will take place "as soon as may be found convenient,"—an expression which, being rather relative than absolute, does not fetter Government, since His Lordship in Council is alone to determine when it may

be convenient, without reference to the desire or opinion of Rajah Runjeet Sing.

3. I have the honor to return enclosed the letter from His Lordship to the Rajah which accompanied your dispatch of the 26th ultimo.

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62. *From C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 5th December 1809.*

Appointment of Mr. R. P. Ochterlony as Assistant to Lieut.-Col. Ochterlony *vice* Captain Stuart.

I HAVE had the honor to receive and lay before His Excellency the Vice-President in Council your letter of the 8th ultimo, reporting the resignation by Captain Stuart of his appointment as your Assistant, and requesting that Mr. R. P. Ochterlony be nominated to the vacant situation, and to inform you that His Excellency in Council has been pleased to appoint that gentleman to be your Assistant in the room of Captain Stuart.

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63. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 33, dated 5th December 1809.*

Arrival of Mahratta Vakeels at the Lahore Darbar.

IN my last dispatch No. 32 I had the honor to report that a Vakeel from Ameer Khan had made his appearance at the Durbar of the Rajah of Lahore.

2. My intelligence from that quarter since that period states that he has not yet received an audience, and the object of his mission does not appear to be known or to excite curiosity. The inference I would draw from this circumstance rests entirely on conjecture, but seems warranted when combined with others which rest on positive information. This inference is that, although he has not been publickly received on the purpose of his visit in the least, some private channel of communication has been adopted, which, having no

Arrival of Mahratta Vakeels at the Lahore Darbar.

suspicion of Ameer Khan's proceedings, has escaped the observation or attention of my emissaries.

3. It was well known and has formed the subject of my report to His Excellency in Council that great pains were taken to conceal the arrival of the Mahrattah Vakeel, and, although he appeared in the Durbar, it was only as one on a pilgrimage to Jawalla Mooky, and he was early sent off from Umritsir under an idea that the conferences might be more private at Lahore.

News from Lahore.

4. Large quantities of stores and ammunition are now said to be collecting at his different forts, and he is reported to have summoned his different Chiefs to attend him immediately with their respective forces. All this is mentioned by both my news-writers, who have no communication with each other, and it is mentioned certainly in a manner which clearly shows that they have no suspicions of its being for any purpose in which we have an interest, but merely as the result of his general custom at this season.

5. In the intelligence received yesterday Mokum Chund is said to be ordered to return to Philour, to which place Jodh Singh, Kulseeah, is also mentioned in the same paper to be ordered, and I received a letter from the latter Sirdar yesterday which states an intention of visiting his lands on this side on the 13th of the moon *Zicaud*.

6. Whether the report has arisen from this intention or whether he is actually ordered to join the force at Phullor, I cannot but consider either in a suspicious light at this particular moment, and as such I conceive it my duty to report the fact, leaving the matter of suspicion to the superior judgment and information of His Excellency in Council.

7. Of affairs in the Dukhan, or the disposition of the Mahrattah Chiefs, I have no information, and my ignorance on this subject may lead me to intrude trifles on the notice of His Excellency in Council which I should not do if I was well assured of their amicable intentions, conceiving, as I do,

that the Rajah of Lahore may be led by apprehensions, as well as by jealousy, to engage in a contest, with a certainty of support, which he would not attempt single-handed. If I receive any communication to-day which tends to develop his intentions or appears otherwise of the least importance, it shall be subjoined.

ENCLOSURE TO 63.

Translation of Lahore News.

29th November 1809.

A LETTER arrived from Begum Sumroo reminding the Rajah of former friendship and regretting the cessation of his correspondence. A letter was also received from Holkar desiring the Rajah to consider him as subject to his advice or counsel. News from Lahore.

Bibrow, the Vakeel of Scindeah, and Abdoolah Khan have not yet been present, not having been called; but Abdoolah Khan has explained himself to Mokum Chund, the whole object of which is to invite the Rajah and assuring him that if he comes southward all the Chiefs of that quarter would join him and act by his advice.

In a consultation with Mokum Sing and Jodh Sing, Torey or Soorey Wallah *(sic)*, the Dewan humbly represented that all the Surdars of the Dekhun were submissive to his wishes, and if he would go towards Jeypore it was probable he would meet the southern Chiefs, and the Rajah of that country, and might obtain something from the country as *moamla* and excite dread in his enemies.

The Rajah replied that it would not be expedient for him to go that way, unless a principal man with money should come to invite his assistance. It would be better to avail himself of the disturbances in Cabul, where something might be obtained. If on his arrival in Mooltan any one came it would be time enough to consider the subject, but for him to make the first movement in that direction was not advisable.

On the 30th Inderdeo Pundit and Bibrow, Vakeel, were admitted, and the Rajah, having heard their request, answered that he was going to Mooltan and to write to Scindeah to make a movement in advance.

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64. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 34, dated 6th December 1809.*

Intrigues of Ranjit Sing with the Mahrattas.

THE paper of intelligence adjoined to my dispatch of yesterday was received at so late an hour that I did not think it advisable to delay its transmission for the sake of adding any observations or opinions which are only founded on suspicion.

2. It appears, however, my duty to call the attention of His Excellency to particular parts, which, if they have any foundation in fact, seem worthy of comment, more particularly as the habits of the Rajah of Lahore render it particularly difficult to discover his real intentions.

3. In the first place, I cannot view without great doubt the affected publicity of his answers to the Mahratta Vakeels and the declaration so explicitly made of his intended expedition to Mooltan; and the recited consultation with Mokum Chund, where he is said to have observed that it neither could nor would be advisable for him to engage in the business, unless invited by some person high in rank and in the confidence of Scindeah supplied with cash, seems to me equally liable to suspicion.

4. It does not appear to me probable that Runjeet could for a moment expect pecuniary supplies from that quarter, and it is still less likely that the Dewan Mokum Chund should hold out the lure of contributions in a country where, if he goes at all, it can only be as a friend and ally. In the interview of the 30th he publicly informs the Vakeels of his intentions to proceed to Mooltan, but no mention is

made of any expectation of money, and he desires them to write to their principal to make the first movement.

Intrigues of Ranjit Singh with the Mahrattas.

5. There are other circumstances in the *Akhbar* which must excite great doubt whether such conversations have passed, or whether, if they really occurred, they are not intended to deceive. Runjeet's observations on the state of affairs in Cabul and the probable advantages to be obtained from an expedition to Multan and towards Bakar are, on the other hand, in strict unison with his known character and disposition; but the observation may have been made under the impression that it was the one most likely to mislead or deceive. I have already observed that Runjeet's constant habits must make it difficult to pry into his real designs, and all that can be done is to be as much as possible guarded against their effects.

Proposed strengthening of the post of Ludhiána.

6. Under these impressions I have submitted some time since my sentiments and the general outline of a plan for strengthening this post, from a conviction that the attack of this detachment may be the first proof of a hostile intention. The doubts and suspicions which have been lately excited in my mind, first by the anxious endeavors to conceal the presence of a Mahratta Vakeel at his Durbar, and lastly by the public answers they have received, seem to claim particular notice and to warrant precautionary measures which, although attended with an immediate and unauthorised expenditure of the public money, will I trust receive the approbation of His Excellency in Council.

7. In this hope I beg you will do me the honor to submit the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to Brigade-major Brownrigg. My confidence in his zeal for the public service, his strict attention and judicious economy, are founded on experience, and whilst I calculate on the greatest benefit should my doubts prove groundless, I do not feel apprehensive of any very great loss to Government should the amicable conduct of the Rajah show them to be erroneous. Even if a total loss of the whole sum necessary to supply the detachment

Proposed strengthening of the post of Ludhiána.

for twenty days could be supposed, I should still hope that His Excellency in Council, taking into consideration the peculiar situation of this detachment and its vicinity to the main body of the Rajah's force, would still sanction a measure which I have ordered reluctantly but on a strong conviction of its propriety and necessity.

8. In addition to this gradual procurement of supplies, I shall also venture to incur some expense in the employment of such number of *baildars* as I can collect to throw up such works as appear to me most necessary to strengthen the position, and in such a manner that they may be connected and extended on any urgent occasion.

9. To make a reference for a prior sanction of these measures, calculating the time which must elapse before I can receive a reply, would be to defeat the object, as, admitting an hostile intention in the Rajah of Lahore, it must be carried into effect before an answer could be received.

10. If on the contrary the Rajah should really be amicably inclined, the expense I trust will be too limited, when compared with the possible advantages, to excite disapprobation, and the very report of those precautionary steps may even in the case of hostility induce him to relinquish any design of attack he may have formed on account of the smallness of the force.

11. Having assigned my motives for the measures I propose to take, which under any and every circumstance I hope will be considered as having no other object than the good of the service, I shall wait with great anxiety for the sentiments of His Excellency in Council.

12. It may not be improper to mention, as a mere rumour, that the people on this side have strong suspicions of a meditated attack on the British territory, and even go so far as to mention how it is to be conducted; but such rumours can only rest on surmise and may not have even

the slightest foundation, as the very idea would flatter the vanity of Runjeet as evincing a public opinion of his ability to cope with the British power.

ENCLOSURE TO 64.

Extract of Lahore Intelligence from 1st to 2nd December 1809 by another News-writer.

THE Surdar observed that he thought it would be advisable at this time to send a suitable force into the Doab beyond the Beah (towards the Sutledge), and also to Kote Kapoora to chastise the refractory Berar (*sic*) zemeendars, to which the Dewan replied that it would be very proper, but he was afraid there would not be forage for the horses. The Rajah said that they might feed on chaff or dig up the jungle grass. **Intelligence from Lahore.**

On the 29th *hurkarrahs* arrived from Jeswant Row Holkar with a letter in which, after reminding him of the exploits of former Rajahs, whose actions in the time of the Emperors had procured them fame, he observed that the favor of the Almighty had also given him territories and armies, and that he should not be idle at this moment or not relinquish his ambitious enterprises, and whenever he chose to engage in any enterprise he might consider him as already with him.

The Rajah also was very angry with Nuroo Mull, the Darogah of the Powder Magazine, who had received an advance of money on account of that article, and asked him why it was not lodged or delivered in to the Sircar. The Darogah assured him that powder to the amount of 10,000 rupees was making at different places and would very soon be ready.

Note.—The News-writers are not supposed to have any knowledge or communication with each other. They agree in the receipt and contents of Holkar's letter and corroborate

Intelligence from Lahore.

former statements of his anxiety to procure large supplies of ammunition.

A former *akhbar* stated that he had demanded to the extent of 3 lacs of rupees worth of military stores and ammunition from the Surdars of the Punjaub.

The pretext for sending troops across the Beah, that is, nearer the Sutledge, looks suspicious, as the force at Philour is sufficient to restrain any refractory zemeendars in the Jullunder Doab.

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65. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 35, dated 7th December 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to annex a translation of Lahore Intelligence this moment received.

Lahore Intelligence, 4th December, 1809.

ON the 3rd in the evening about 7 o'clock a letter was received by Deby Doss, Moonshee, from Goorsahy Mull, Mutsuddy at Bhera Kooshab, informing him that Sujah-ul-Moolk had sustained a very severe defeat and with very few attendants had arrived at Lyah, Bakkar or Bayor *(sic)*, where Mohamed Khan had presented him with near twenty thousand rupees, horses, &c.; that he then came on to Bhera Kooshab with only 20 horse, and he himself had sent him such things as were necessary and proper. On the 2nd day after his arrival at Bhera Kooshab he proceeded to Zemaun Shah's camp.

Moonshee Deby Doss took the letter immediately to the Rajah, who was surprised; but this morning sowars from Jewan Sing of Rawul Pindy arrived confirming the intelligence of his defeat and stating his arrival at that place. The Rajah, who had previously determined to send Hannoo Sing,

now immediately sent for Bukshy Khooseally Mull, and, having given him *kinkhabs*, &c., and 300 rupees for his expenses, directed him to proceed instantly with the Vakeels of Zemaun Shah. Intelligence from Lahore.

Accordingly this day he took his departure with elephants, horses, &c., &c., and 2,000 rupees for both Zemaun Shah and Sujah-ul-Moolk, and has proceeded to Rawul Pindy.

This intelligence seemed to excite a variety of reflections to the Rajah, but he said himself to Molvey Abdoola: "If His Majesty should call me, I am ready. My troops are at his service, and I will do everything in my power to effect his re-establishment."

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66. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 39, dated 17th December 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to transmit translations of Lahore Intelligence to the 13th. Whether the Vakeels of Holkar and Scindeah, who attend the Durbar of Runjeet, are accredited it is not perhaps easy to determine, but I think there can be no doubt that Ameer Khan's Vakeel conceives that engaging the Rajah of Lahore in hostility would further his master's designs, if he was not dispatched for that express purpose by the Khan.

The Rajah, I should imagine, whatever he may hold out, will not engage in such a design without a certainty of effectual co-operation on their side, nor will he in all probability take any steps that can shew a hostile intention until they have actually commenced operations. His present measures may be considered rather of a defensive nature so far as respects the collection of military stores, all the other proceedings, being only in conformity to his usual practice of moving in the month of May, or when the *rubby* is on the ground, must be for the present conjectural.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 66.

Lahore News from 9th to 11th December, 1809.

Intelligence from Lahore.

WHEN the Durbar was dismissed Abdoolah Khan, the Vakeel of Ameer Khan, and Bebrow Pundit, Vakeel of Dowlat Row, were called, and after the usual enquiries a conversation ensued respecting the defeat of Sujah-ul-Moolk, sending Khooseally Mull, Bukshy, to Rawul Pindy, and the late capture of Kangra and defeat of the Goorkhas. The Vakeels said much in praise of the warlike genius and qualifications of the Rajah, and observed that it was not prudent in him to give the Goorkhas, who have done so much mischief, such terms, but it would have been better to have inflicted a severe punishment as an example to his other enemies. The Rajah replied that when opposed to him he had chastised them, but it was not proper or the custom of the Khalsajee to refuse quarter. His only object, the possession of Kangra, has been obtained. After four hours' conversation they were dismissed, and the Rajah told them they should be again called to a private conference, when they would mutually consult on what measures were to be adopted.

Jodh Sing had repeatedly requested leave to proceed to his house, Chichrouly, through his Vakeel Sitaram, and promised to return when summoned. The Rajah now sent for Hurry Sing, his son, and having given him a khillut and a horse told him that on account of his coming to the Presence he granted his father's request, but he was to return in a month.

The Surdar had everything prepared for proceeding to Umritsir on the *Sunkrant*, when a letter arrived from Khooseally Mull, Bukshy, informing him that he had arrived at Rawul Pindy and delivered the letter and presents to Sujah-ul-Moolk. On perusing the letter Sujah-ul-Moolk had said that, though now compelled by necessity to come into a foreign country, yet it was not consistent with his dignity to proceed in that manner; but if the Rajah himself came it would be

respectful and conformable to the duties of obedience. On hearing this the Rajah put off the journey to Umritsir. Intelligence from Lahore.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 66.

Lahore News, from another Writer.

NEWS arrived of the death of Kurreemulla Khan of Rajauree, and that his son, Akbur Khan, had succeeded, on which it was observed by one of his servants that Kurreemulla Khan possessed great wealth, and it would be advisable to take something from him, on which the Rajah determined to send Hakeem Uzzeez-ud-Deen, with Ghasy Khan and other troops, to make collections from him and Allum Khan, Luckumanah *(sic)*, and the Rajah intends to proceed to Ramnagurh to meet Sujah-ul-Moolk, but will proceed at the *Sunkrant* to Umritsir and afterwards go to meet the King.

Abdoolah Khan and Bebrow Vakeels were called. Abdoolah Khan represented to the Rajah that Scindeah and Holkar considered you as a brother, and always say that their existence depends upon you and each upon the other, and that you ought not to be careless on account of the friendship now established with the English, but it was more advisable to be attentive and prepared. That they have frequently engaged the English, have sometimes been defeated and sometimes victorious, but were still firm and drew fifteen lacks of rupees annually from them. To keep your hand on your sword is your best security. If you wish the Loodeana detachment to be withdrawn, I will co-operate with you, or if you come this way we will consult what is best. Fortune has hitherto been favorable to you, and by co-operation something may be effected. To this representation the Rajah replied that certainly they are my brothers, and after a private consultation on this subject Inderdeo Pundit will give you my answer.

Intelligence from Lahore.

It is the intention of the Rajah, after meeting His Majesty Sujah-ul-Moolk, to send Mokum Chund with all his troops into Mooltan, but he himself means to remain at Lahore, fearful that in his absence an enemy should come from another quarter.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 66.

12th to 13th December 1809, by the same Writer as the above.

JODH SING, Kulseeah, wrote to his son to obtain him leave to go to Chichrouly which he asked through Sewa Sing, who represented he had now been in attendance with his troops a full year. The Rajah said that he might go if he came himself, but he would not grant it through Hurry Sing, to whom he gave a turban and *dushalla* and dismissed him.

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67. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 40, dated 18th December 1809.*

I HAVE the honor to transmit intelligence from Lahore and Mooltan this instant received.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 67.

Lahore Intelligence, 14th to 15th December 1809.

JODH SING received leave to go to Chichrouly with instructions to attend the Rajah next month on his journey to Sahewal (westward). Inderdeo Pundit came to the Presence and represented that Bebrow, the Vakeel of Dowlut Row, had been a long time in his house. He replied: "let him stay, but this is a strange Vakeel. Sometimes he represents what he has to say through Meeth Sing and sometimes through Utter Sing; at others he talks of there being news-writers from

the English here, and that I ought not to suffer them to remain. The man is either mad or he is not sent by any one (has no master)." Intelligence from Lahore.

Although formerly the Rajah had an intention of proceeding to Mooltan himself, yet, as he has lately heard that a greater number of troops than there used to be formerly have arrived at Meerut and Loodeana, his imagination now turns on the idea that if he goes in that direction some attempts may be made by the English. Therefore he has determined only to go to Ramnagurh and from thence return and remain at Lahore, and that Mokum Chund should proceed next month with all the troops to Mooltan to levy contributions and take the country.

He is also very desirous of meeting the King for the sake of getting some good horses of that country and for other purposes.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 67.

From Mr. SETON's News-writer, Mooltan.

ON the 1st of December intelligence was received at Mooltan that on the 27th November *kossids* had arrived with Surbuland Khan at Bukur, who stated something secretly to him which could not be discovered, but the Nawab immediately on receiving the news put on a rich dress of 18 *parchas* and some jewels, all of which he gave immediately to the *kossids* and on the instant sent off two camel *hurkarahs* with a letter written in his own hand to the Shah Sujah-ul-Moolk at Rawul Pindy, but what were the contents is not known. Intelligence from Multán.

On the 2nd December intelligence was received in Mooltan by *hurkarahs,* who came to Yar Mahomed Khan and Surdar Khan, that a very strong report prevailed in Derah Ghazy Khan that after the flight of Sujah-ul-Moolk the battle still continued and his party were victorious and Futteh

Khan had been killed, Mahomed Shah made prisoner and confined in the Fort of (supposed) Bahasar, and that the son of Sujah-ul-Moolk, Eyoob, had been appointed Vice-regent until the Shah's return, but the names of the Chiefs who have done this are not mentioned.

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68. *From Lieutenant F. S. WHITE, Surveyor, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated 24th December 1809.*

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

IN my letter of the 28th ultimo I had the honor to transmit to you a copy of my correspondence with Rajah Sahib Sing and to acquaint you of my intention to proceed by short marches towards Soonam. On the 29th I left Putteealah and encamped at Bajeedpoor, a small village five *kos* distant from that town, where I received a letter from the Rajah (of which No. 4 is a copy) sanctioning my proceeding through the territory and intimating that directions had been given for a proper person to accompany me.

2. On the 30th I arrived at Dhoodah, a small town where the Rajah resided, to whom I immediately on my arrival sent my respects by my Moonshee. No attention, however, was paid to me until several hours had elapsed, when the Raja's *chobdar* came with the compliments of his master and a few rupees intended as a *zeafut*, which I excused myself from accepting. In the evening the people arrived that had been ordered to accompany me on my tour.

3. On the 1st instant I commenced my march towards Soonam unaccompanied by any one on the part of the Rajah, but was overtaken by a person on foot called Bajee Sing, who informed me he was to proceed with me.

4. I reached Lungowal, a small village, on the 3rd, where I was favoured with a letter from the Rajah enclosing your dispatch of the 25th ultimo, which had been opened and

your letter under a flying seal to Rajah Sahib Sing taken out. No. 5 is a copy of Rajah Sahib Sing's letter to me and No. 6 my reply to it, to both of which, especially the latter, I beg your particular attention.

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

5. I arrived at Batinda on the 9th, from whence I sent Lieutenant Marshall, the Officer Commanding the Escort, who had been for several days unwell, into Ludhianah with a guard of Havildar and twelve. On the 10th I received a letter from the Rajah complaining of the conduct of my *sipahees*, which letter, No. 7, and my answer to it, No. 8, I also beg leave to submit to your particular attention.

6. On the 14th I reached the desert, but, conceiving it imprudent to cross it or turn to the north, which would have immediately led me into Runjeet's country, I resolved on tracing the boundary of the desert in a south-easterly direction towards Batneer and Futtehabad, and with this intention proceeded as far as Buktoo, where, having satisfied myself as to the general northern limits of the desert from Hissar to Pak Puttun and Buhawulpoor, and thinking it unadvisable to venture into the Bhattee country, I took the direction of Mansali, a fort of considerable note belonging to Sahib Sing. Some people, however, advised me not to penetrate further into that country; but, as Bajee Sing, the person deputed by the Rajah to attend me, frequently assured me in the most decided manner there was nothing to apprehend, I did not think myself justified in relinquishing an important point in the survey on the chance information of a few villagers.

7. On the 17th I left Buktoo with the intention of encamping at Tulwundee, a small town belonging to the Rajah twelve *kos* south by east of Batinda, but on my approaching the place, which is surrounded by *jungul*, several shots were fired at me, and I immediately thought it advisable to take the direction of Batinda, encamping that day at the village Joudpoor, five *kos* from Tulwundee. I having, however, during my survey of the north-western frontier been frequently fired upon, though I have not always deemed it necessary

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

to report the same to Government, I began to think but lightly of this affair, and the more so as Bajee Sing when particularly questioned still persisted, in the presence of my Moonshee and several others, that I might proceed through the country in safety.

8. I therefore determined on the morning of the 18th to make Mansah (13 *kos*) in one march, but on my arrival near Mhoi, a large village belonging to Sahib Sing, I was informed about 250 people had collected there with the design of attacking me. I immediately turned off into the *jungul*, relinquishing all thoughts of proceeding to Mansah and taking the direct road to Ludhianah.

9. I, agreeably to the advice of Bajee Singh, encamped this day at Chaoki, a good sized village belonging to Dullel Sing of Mullood; but before the tent was pitched an alarm of horse was given, and in a few minutes about a hundred made their appearance. Well knowing this body would soon be greatly increased, I thought of proceeding four *kos* further to Pukoke, a village belonging to Jiswunt Sing, not only that I might quit a country so very inimical towards us, but in the hopes of procuring safety in a village which I knew to belong to a Chieftain friendly inclined to our Government. Having therefore secured the most valuable part of my property, I commenced my march, leaving my tents and a number of things on the grounds. The horsemen, being joined by about sixty foot from Chaoki armed chiefly with spears and bows and arrows, began the attack, but at so respectful a distance that I would not harrass my men by returning a useless fire, which would greatly have retarded the march. By the time I had gone one *kos* the enemy had augmented to about 500 men by small parties of horse and foot from different villages and began to press on me so close as to force me to commence firing; but, although the enemy were individually brave, particularly the foot, who frequently came so near as to spear the *sipahees*, yet I was enabled to proceed two *kos* further without allowing them to make any serious impression on us.

The camp followers, indeed, were greatly alarmed, but the *sipahees* preserved their spirits and had acted throughout in the most cool and gallant manner. A large reinforcement, however, that the enemy now received in a body, both of horse and foot, could not fail to occasion serious uneasiness in our minds; and, as the *sipahees* were beginning to break and waver through fatigue, having marched fifteen *kos* through a woody country and fought upwards of two hours, I was forced to sacrifice the baggage (a string of sixteen camels, several of which were severely wounded) and order it to be relinquished, and endeavoured to encourage the men with the hopes of relief at Pukoke, from which we were but one *kos* distant. On our arrival, however, at this village, which may be deemed a large one, as most of them are in this part of the country, we were greatly disappointed to find the inhabitants join the enemy, and with this addition to their force I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion we had to oppose one thousand men,—the natives say from three to four. My *sipahees* now began to fall fast, and any attempt to proceed further in a country covered with *jungul* was evidently absurd. The only chance of saving the party was that of storming the village and procuring shelter amongst the houses; this plan was accordingly adopted, and possession of a part of the village taken with but little loss. I immediately dispatched two *hurkarahs* to Colonel Ochterlony soliciting to be reinforced by the whole of the cavalry stationed at Ludhianah, nor do I think at that time I should have been justified in applying for a force of less strength. The *hurkarahs* were to receive a reward of fifty rupees. Early the next morning Run Sing, the nephew of Jiswunt Sing, arrived from Phool, a small town sixteen *kos* from Pukoke, to my relief. Tranquillity was immediately restored in the village—the enemy having returned to their respective villages during the night. I immediately acquainted Colonel Ochterlony of the fortunate change that had taken place, and, having procured conveyance for the wounded, left Pukoke on the 20th for Ludhianah attended by Run Sing, encamping that day at Burnalah. On the 21st I reached Pukowal, where I met Seewah Sing, a confidential

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

servant of Jiswunt Sing, who had been sent by Colonel Ochterlony with a party of horse to my assistance; and on the same day a party of Patan Horse commanded by a relation of Ataoolla Khan arrived at Pukowal; they had also been sent by Colonel Ochterlony to my relief. On the 22nd I arrived at Ludhianah.

10. I have conceived it my duty to communicate to you this detailed account of the circumstances that have occurred; nor do I think I have in the least exaggerated the number of the enemy, and therefore can only attribute our escape from so imminent a danger to the Divine interposition of Providence. The loss on our side is 3 *sipahees* killed, 11 wounded, 3 servants killed, 3 servants wounded, belonging to Captain Skinner's Irregular Corps; wounded 2 horses, Lieutenant White's killed, 4 horses belonging to Captain Skinner wounded, 2 of which were left at Pukoke as unfit for further service. The whole baggage excepting the ammunition and the *Soobidar's* property lost.

11. I cannot, however, conclude this letter without intruding upon your attention a few remarks. I had requested of Government that during my survey I might be accompanied by respectable Vackeels from the different Chieftains through whose territory I should proceed, under the full conviction (as expressed in the letter I had the honor to address to you) that without this assistance no survey in that part of the country was practicable; and, as Government had been pleased to approve of my suggestion, I had put myself to considerable extra expense that I might appear as an officer proceeding under a special deputation from Government. The person sent by the Rajah to accompany me was on my honor, in my opinion, not near so respectable as a common *hurkarah*. He even the first day begged of my servants *one anna* for his subsistence. (I immediately ordered him ten rupees.) How far he might be considered as an intelligent person, I know not, for his language was so peculiar that neither myself, my Moonshee or any of the *sipahees* or servants could readily understand

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

the one-half he said, and in short altogether so much the appearance of a common cooly that it was the first remark of Run Sing to me and afterwards of Seewah Sing to Colonel Ochterlony that they were not surprised at what had happened when they considered the want of authority and mean appearance of the person who attended me. Independent, however, of this circumstance I feel it my duty to state to you that I am fully convinced treachery was from the first intended. On my arrival at Putteealah I was desirous of hiring seven camels for the conveyance of the *sipahees'* baggage in the room of their hackery, but was informed no camels were to be procured. I acquainted the Rajah of this circumstance on my arrival at Dhodah, requesting he would give directions for them to be sent to me, but received a similar reply. I was equally unsuccessful at Soonam, though afterwards the *sipahees* of themselves without the least assistance from me procured them. I need not state the country abounds in camels, which are driven in flocks of eighty and a hundred each. You will also observe the Rajah took no notice of my request to be attended by a few of his horsemen and *hurkarahs*, although I had pointed out to him the inconveniences I experienced from the want of a person of respectability and authority to attend me; and it is also a very singular circumstance that there were two or three standards with the Cavalry that attacked me, which in my opinion proves the attack had been in contemplation for several days, and when I reflect that in a former survey I was in a similar manner insulted at Khoralah, a town only ten *kos* from Putteealah, and in a part of the country the most subject to his authority, I cannot but think myself justified in repeating that treachery was intended from the first.

12. The loss of baggage can be easily repaired, but that of my books, papers, maps and a series of information which I had collected during a four years' survey, great part of which in the hopes of its being rendered more perfect had not been communicated to Government, is a loss of a very serious nature and the more so as, if the strong recommendations you

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

had been pleased to honor me with to the several Chieftains in this quarter prove ineffectual, I am fearful no further survey in this part of the country can any longer be considered as advisable.

13. My escort consisted of a *soobidar, jamadar,* 4 *havildars,* 4 *naicks* and 68 *sipahees,* with a *duffadar* and 10 horsemen belonging to Captain Skinner's Irregular Corps. I could not close this letter without representing to you in the strongest terms my entire satisfaction of the cool, gallant and soldier-like conduct of the *havildars, naicks* and *sipahees* that accompanied me.

P.S.—I have this moment been honored with your letter of the 21st instant. I give you my word of honor as an officer and a gentleman that I am at present totally unacquainted of there ever having been the least occasion of complaint whatsoever of the men under my command. I will, however, make every enquiry into the circumstance. I am at present much agitated that any kind of complaint has been made to you, though I feel fully convinced the whole is an infamous fabrication.

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69. *From Lieutenant F. S. WHITE, Surveyor, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated 24th December 1809.*

HAVING translated the letters you did me the honor to enclose in your dispatch of the 21st instant, and perfectly understood the meaning of them, I have now the honor of replying to the extraordinary charge which has been made against me by Rajah Sahib Sing, and, as you appear in your letter to have given credit to the Rajah's assertions, I certainly do not expect you should be satisfied with my individual contradiction to them, though I had flattered myself that, as no complaint has hitherto been made of my conduct to the Resident at Delhi, though I have been employed upwards of four years as a Surveyor and by far the greatest part of that time in countries independent of the British Government, that

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

you would have expressed some hopes in your letter that the circumstances had either been exaggerated or misrepresented to the Rajah. The first intimation I received in the nature of a complaint was the Rajah's own letter to me, and you will have the goodness to observe in my reply to it that I positively deny the *sipahees* have been guilty of any injustice, and call upon him to point out any single instance. To this letter I received no reply. In his letter to your address written in the same general style no specific ground of complaint is alleged. How am I to reply to a charge of so general and indefinite a nature? I cannot myself but consider the whole is a fabrication intended as a prelude to the attack that was afterwards made upon me, as I cannot conceive how the inhabitants could have sustained any serious injury or have suffered any violence without either the knowledge of myself or Lieutenant Marshall, who commanded the company. I by no means, however, wish you to risk upon my assertion that the whole is a false complaint, but, on the contrary, have to entreat in the most solemn manner that a Court of Enquiry may be instituted to investigate into the circumstances. The loss I have sustained in my property is certainly very great, but it is by no means to be compared to that of my reputation, nor shall I rest satisfied until I am informed that Government is fully convinced I could not have been guilty of the unofficer-like conduct imputed to me.

This is written in great haste, being anxious to send it by this day's dak. No copy of it is taken, and I have therefore to beg you will excuse any trifling mistakes.

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70. *From Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, to A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Delhi,—dated 25th December 1809.*

I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of my letter to Lieutenant Marshall, together with his reply, which I flatter myself will prove satisfactory to you and prevent your entertaining any longer doubts of the general good conduct of the detachment. You will observe that Mr. Marshall is entirely

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

of the same opinion as myself, though I have not thought it proper to have any communications with him on the subject, and what is very remarkable, in no one instance has the most trivial complaint ever been made to me.

ENCLOSURE 1 TO 70.

From Lieutenant F. S. WHITE, Surveyor, to Lieutenant T. MARSHALL, Commanding a Detachment on Escort duty with Lieutenant WHITE, Surveyor,—dated Ludhianah, 25th December 1809.

I HAVE the honor to send you the copy of a letter from the Resident at Delhi to me under date the 21st instant, enclosing the Persian copy of a letter the Resident had received from Rajah Sahib Sing, the Putteealah Chieftain, wherein he complains in the strongest language of the violent and improper conduct of the *sipahees* under your command to the inhabitants of Putteealah and Soonam, and indeed of every place where they had encamped. As it is probable a very serious investigation may ultimately take place, I have to request you will make the most particular enquiries on the subject and report to me the result for the information of Government.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 70.

From Lieutenant T. MARSHALL, Commanding Detachment on Escort duty with Lieutenant WHITE, Surveyor, to Lieutenant F. S. WHITE, Surveyor, North-West Frontier, Ludhianah,—dated Ludhianah, 25th December 1809.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this date containing a note from Mr. Seton and a Persian letter from the Putteealah Rajah, Sahib Singh, complaining of the violent and unsoldier-like conduct of my men at Soonam. Agreeable to your desire, I have made particular enquiries of my Native Commissioned Officers and *Havildars* respecting the conduct of the men at that place, and am perfectly satisfied (not only from their report, but from my own observations

of their conduct) that they were guilty of no disorderly or irregular conduct, and that the regular *nerrick* was paid by all for any article they purchased in the bazar.

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

I look upon the complaint as a mere pretence intended to have been the means of getting us out of the country as soon as possible. The bare circumstance of a string of 10 camels from that place following the detachment for 6 or 7 *kos* for service on the morning we left it is the strongest proof that no misunderstanding or dispute could possibly have taken place between the inhabitants and my men, and this too happened at a time when the Putteealah Rajah positively asserted that it was out of his power to procure a few camels for the conveyance of some baggage that must have been otherwise left behind, and I might have hired a string of 50 as fine camels as any in the country. If I may be permitted to give my opinion, the complaint is a mere cloak to cover in some measure the unprovoked attack made on the detachment on the 18th of December, or in other words he might think an early complaint would afford him the means of cutting up the detachment with impunity.

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71. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated 28th December 1809.*

ALTHOUGH Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's dispatch No. 42, which was forwarded from hence yesterday, will have apprized you, previously to the receipt of this letter, of the safety of Lieutenant White, I think it regular to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, that I this day received a letter from that officer communicating his arrival at Ludhianeh.

2. It would appear that the head of the gang of robbers, who attacked and plundered Lieutenant White, was

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor, in Patiála territory.

Phola Sing, an Akaulee, who is a subject of Runjeet Sing and joined the troops of that Chief near Kot Kapoorah when he found that the arrival of Run Sing prevented him from accomplishing his purpose, which seems to have been not merely to plunder but to destroy the party with Lieutenant White.

3. A judgment may perhaps be formed from the reception of this atrocious murderer in the camp of Rajah Runjeet Sing,—or rather of Mohkum Chund, his Dewan,—whether there be any grounds for the reports, so current at present, respecting the hostile designs of the Rajah against the British Government.

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72. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to G. SWINTON, Esquire, Acting Persian Secretary to the Government, Fort William,—dated Dehli, 27th December 1809.*

Intelligence from the Court of Lahore.

As the Persian newspaper transmitted by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony with the accompanying letter contains intelligence which, if true, would be very important, I think it my duty to submit a translation.

With regard to the authenticity of the intelligence, I can only say that three of the Sikh Chiefs, the most friendly to the British Government, *viz.* Rajah Bhaug Sing, Bhye Laul Sing and Rajah Jeswunt Sing of Nabah, are now at Dehli, and have not made any communication on the subject to me; yet, if true, they could hardly be ignorant of Runjeet Sing's designs, and if acquainted with them they certainly would not I think conceal them from me.

Translation of Abstract of Intelligence from Surdar RUNJEET SING's Court at Lahore,—written the 19th of December 1809.

IT appears from the relation of several officers and servants of this Government, that Surdar Runjeet Sing

has lately had many private conferences with Surdar Futteh Sing of Alloo, and that during the diversion of hunting, after exchanging oaths, he frequently addressed him to this effect : "That the neighbourhood of the British and the outrage of killing oxen in the country of Punjaub is the cause of bringing my Government and authority into contempt, and is moreover injurious to our holy persuasion. At present that Sut Gooroojee has raised me and made me Lord of a country and master of an army, if I did not attempt to rectify this affair what shame to my situation and prowess! By the strength of my arm, then, and the might of my sword I ought to attempt rendering myself master of Dehli. If I conquer, both the seats of Royalty fall under the dominion of the Khalsahjee; if I fail, the enemy will become master of this seat also; when required, however, you must supply me with ten guns and thirty thousand horse and foot." Futteh Singh replied: "Your plans with respect to this subject are just and proper, and believe me in every point to join heartily as your confederate in their accomplishment. When you consider that the country of Jugrowneh, the *Talookeh* of Isroo and other places belonging to me lie on the other side of the Sutledge, you may conceive that my interest in this project is greater than your own." In fine, after reciprocal consultations and communication the march of the armies was fixed after the time of the *Sunkrant* (Solstice) of the month of *Poos* and the commencement of *Magh.*

Intelligence from the Court of Lahore.

It is reported that writings have been addressed to the different Rajahs of Kohistan to the following effect : "You will march all your troops from the Kohistan to the country of Doabah and arrive in different quarters. You must take care not to encamp together." Surdar Futteh Sing was also instructed to place divisions of his force at the villages of Phagwara, Bukeheree, Bulkeh, Jhandealeh, as also at Kolee and Kupoor Thuleh, so that when required they might immediately and readily be assembled. For in case of the army remaining encamped together the enemy by getting notice would strengthen themselves and be on their guard.

Intelligence from the Court of Lahore.

P.S.—By the report of horsemen attending Moulvi Hussun and Shah Ashruff Khan, Vackeels of Shuja-ool-Moolk, who arrived here yesterday, it appears that the fort of Attock by the exertions of some *Killadar* remained in the possession of Shuja-ool-Moolk, till at length Shah Mahmood imprisoning and distressing the family of the said *Killadar* he was obliged to deliver up the place to Uttahoollah Khan, a servant of the King's (Shah Mahmood).

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73. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government in the Political Department,—No. 43, dated 30th December 1809.*

Communication from the Commander of the Gurkha Force.

I HAVE the honor to transmit, for the information of His Excellency in Council, copies and translations of letters which have passed between me and Dewan Mokum Chund since my last dispatch of the 22nd instant.

2. I have also the honor to transmit copy and translation of another letter received from the Commander of the Goorkhas' Force, whose object is still the same, and of course would not demand particular attention if I could ascertain the wishes of Government respecting any limits which it may be desirable to fix to the encroachments of their troops, as, though now confined to the hilly districts, they may extend their depredations and attack some places belonging to Surdars who consider themselves under our protection. This circumstance has not yet occurred, but our knowledge of the geography of this country is yet so limited that they may even unintentionally trespass on what may be now determined to be our boundaries, as I understand that the man whose forts they are now attacking or have already taken has some considerable villages at the foot of the hills not far from Sirhind, and the Munny Majra man, on the other hand, has some lands on the hills.

3. In a letter received yesterday from Rajah Sahib Sing of Putteealah he mentions a long-established friendship between him and the Goorkhas and expresses a desire to send some of his troops to join them against Kurrumparkass.

Desire of the Raja of Patiála to help the Gurkhas.

4. The expression of such a wish from one who is notoriously inadequate to the controul of his own possessions led me to enquire what possible motive could induce it, and it was accounted for by a supposed expectation that such assistance would be rewarded by the Goorkhas by the gift of some villages that belong to the Surmooreah Rajah and are contiguous to those of Sahib Sing in the neighbourhood of the hills.

5. I do not, however, mean to ascribe this or any motive to the Rajah himself, whose imbecility approaches very nearly to absolute idiotism; but it is not unlikely to have had its effect on those who have the management of his affairs, and who may be supposed to be governed by the one grand principle which actuates without exception every Sikh Surdar with whom I have ever had any intercourse, and seems to have become a general rule of action, *viz.*, to avail themselves of every circumstance which can benefit themselves, unrestrained by considerations of justice, truth, honor or humanity.

6. Every day furnishes some new proof of the violation of the most sacred duties and obligations, and the Chief of Nabah is at this moment in dread of assassination from his own son, whom he has for some time kept in confinement, and who contrives, though closely watched, to keep up a correspondence with the Rajah of Lahore.

Lawless conduct of Chief and petty Sardars.

7. Within these few days the zemeendars of Sydooky and Bhugta have possessed themselves by treachery of the small *gurhy* of a petty Surdar in this neighbourhood in retaliation for injuries, real or pretended, which I shall probably be necessitated to make the subject of a future representation.

Lawless conduct of Chiefs and petty Sardars.

8. Discord and anarchy have been so long prevalent, and every one has been so much in the habit of revenging his own wrongs, that it must unavoidably be some time, and probably require some strong example, before they can be restrained from committing violences on the lives and property of each other. For the latter I know of no effectual remedy unless the confiscation of the lands of the aggressor, which, if it had the effect of preventing petty warfare, would of itself put a stop to the now frequent recurrence of bloodshed; but it likewise involves a degree of interference and controul which may exceed the intentions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council. If I feel most anxious for particular instructions on these points, it is from a sincere desire to prevent, when possible, the abuses and violences which so frequently occur, and at the same time to do it in the manner most conformable to the wishes of Government, and in the way least likely to offend the several Surdars whose attachment it is an object to conciliate.

Seizure of Chamkoián by the zamindars of Sidoki and Bhugta.

9. I shall not delay the transmission of a full detail of all the circumstances attending the seizure of the petty *gurhy* of Chumkooah by the zemeendars of Sydooky and Bhugta, which I feel embarrassing—

First, because the act is in itself contrary to the intimation given to the several Surdars that every one shall continue unmolested in possession of the lands or villages in their immediate occupancy on our assuming the protection of the country ;

Secondly, because the zemeendars of Sydooky, &c., are dependants of the Rajah of Putteealah ; and

Lastly, because I have great reason to believe that this petty zemeendar of Chumkooah has been for some time past constantly invading, laying waste and plundering the property of others, and does in reality deserve the punishment he has met with, although it was not

strictly proper those people should inflict it, as he was not in any shape dependent on them and is acknowledged to have an undisputed and undivided right to the villages and *gurhy* which have been seized. Seizure of Chamkoián by the zamindars of Sidoki and Bhugta.

10. It appears to me the desire and intention of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that the independent proprietor of the smallest village should be as fully maintained in the rights of property as the most considerable Surdars, and consequently that Rajah Sahib Sing, his agents, or dependants, cannot assume a right of seizure under any pretence of injuries committed.

11. If any deviation from this principle should be once admitted, pretexts will always be found and the weak will be placed at the mercy of the powerful.

12. In the present case I have judged it best to represent the circumstance to Rajah Sahib Sing, reminding him that every Surdar was left in the former exercise of his authority and controul over the districts and vassals, which he held at the time the British Government assumed the protection of the country, but that I considered the forcible occupation of any village belonging to another as a deviation from the *Ittila Namah*, which under the orders and instructions of Government I had formerly transmitted to him, and I hope this intimation will be the means of effecting its restoration under his own authority.

13. If it should fail of producing this effect, my detailed report of the particular rights of the proprietor, and the pretence under which the seizure has been made, will enable His Excellency in Council to decide on the case and form a precedent for my future guidance ; for, as I have already stated, I feel much less difficulty in resisting what I feel to be the unfounded claims of the Rajah of Lahore or his Dewan than in deciding on the disputes of those who come under the description of our own protégés, in which, however, I have been generally successful by hearing fully what each

Seizure of Chamkoián by the zamindars of Sidoki and Bhugta.

party had to urge and by sometimes recommending the mutual restitution of plundered cattle, or at others proposing arbitration in the case of disputed boundaries.

14. It was not perhaps in the contemplation or the wish of Government that I should interfere in cases of this nature, and if I have erred I shall discontinue such interference in future; but my motive has ever been to prevent those petty feuds and dissensions which must prevail in a country so governed as this is, and under such impressions I have not thought it advisable or humane to reject a reference made by both parties, from a seeming confidence in my wish to render justice always rather by opinion or recommendation than by affecting or claiming any authority.

15. As all parties seemed perfectly satisfied with the measures I suggested, I have hitherto thought it improper to intrude such subjects on the attention of Government as wearing not only an appearance of egotism, but liable to a misconstruction as if complaining of the trouble attached to my situation and command; nor would it now have been mentioned if the particular case of Chumkooah had not occurred.

16. My object is only to conform to what I conceive to be the wishes of Government, and, where they are not known, by positive orders or instructions to give a just impression of its equity.

Designs of Ranjit Singh.

17. It is still difficult to comprehend the designs of the Rajah of Lahore, governed, as I must be, by the mere reports of news-writers; but unless there is any certain intention of a renewal of hostilities with the Chiefs of the Dakhun, I cannot bring myself to believe that he would singly involve himself in a war with a Power which, though I do not think he justly appreciates, I am persuaded he still fears.

18. His preparations seem rather of a defensive than offensive nature, and if it were not for the frequent conferences with the Maharattah Vakeels, amongst whom I include

Ubdoolla Khan, and the constant transit of Vackeels from Ougeen to Lahore and *vice versâ*, I should be inclined to give full credit to the general report that his next movement will be towards Mooltan.

Designs of Ranjit Singh.

19. It cannot, however, but excite some distrust, ignorant as I am of the affairs of the south, to observe that, in addition to the Vackeels already at Lahore, Goordial Brahmin again left Putteealah *on a pilgrimage to Jooala Mooky* on the 20th instant with a considerable retinue, and a man named Junda Sing was within these two days at Philour, said to be deputed from Runjeet to Dowlut Row Scindeah.

20. My intelligence of this day states the whole force at Lahore to be six thousand and about two thousand at Umritsir, at which place it is said there is to be an intended meeting of all the Chiefs on the next *Sunkrant*, or about the 13th January, which is to determine their future movements.

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74. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D.* OCHTERLONY, *Commanding at Loodeana, to C.* LUSHINGTON, *Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government in the Political Department,—No. 44, dated 31st December 1809.*

IN the 7th paragraph of my letter No. 34, under date the 6th December,[1] I had the honor to communicate, for the information of His Excellency in Council, the measures which I proposed to adopt in consequence of the preparations made by and suspicious conduct of Rajah Runjeet Sing. I have now the honor to transmit a letter from Brigade-major Brownrigg, by which His Excellency in Council will observe that a supply of grain and other articles equal to fifteen days' consumption has been laid in for a sum not much exceeding, perhaps not quite amounting to, three thousand rupees.

Strengthening of the Fort of Ludhiána.

2. In consequence of this letter I have directed that officer immediately to erect within the fort the mill proposed, and some handmills or *chuckies* being on their way to the

[1] 64 *supra*.

Strengthening of the Fort of Ludhiána.

Punjab for sale, I have also purchased fifty which I shall order to be fitted up for use, the whole expense of which will not exceed 1,200 rupees.

3. In a few days a ditch will be completed round the fort which can be deepened and enlarged at leisure, and a wall and ditch round the town are in considerable forwardness.

4. The letter from Brigade-major Brownrigg is so explicit as to render any observation from me unnecessary, and I feel persuaded that, whatever may be the decision of His Excellency in Council as to the propriety or necessity of the measure itself, His Excellency will not fail to observe that it fully evinces the just confidence I had placed in that officer and proves that it could not have been executed with greater prudence, celerity and integrity.

CHAPTER II.

1810-11.

Intelligence from the Punjab—Encroachments of the Gurkhas—Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White—Operations of Raja Ranjit Singh against Multan—Claims of Gurkhas to Pinjore—Appointment of Captain Birch as Assistant to Colonel Ochterlony—Representation of ex-Raja of Nahan—Feelings of Chiefs towards Ranjit Singh—Arrival of members of the Royal Family of Kabul at Ludhiana—Present of a carriage and pair to Raja Ranjit Singh—Maladministration of the Patiala State—Proclamation to Protected Sikh Chiefs—Kashmir sheep.

75. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 46, dated the 6th January 1810.*

Lahore Intelligence.

I HAVE the honor to transmit Lahore Intelligence up to the 1st instant, which confirms my former account of the Rajah's proceeding to the west and leaves the meeting at Umritser on the *Sunkrant* doubtful, but I should rather be inclined to think it will not take place, though distance or business is seldom suffered to prevent this ceremony, which is not actually ordained, but has become by usage a rite of religion.

ENCLOSURE TO 75.

Lahore Intelligence dated 1st January 1810.

SIRDAR RUNJEET SING marched from Lahore, and on the second day halted 18 *coss* from thence at a place called Goojerwal, having with him Sahib Sing of Goojrat and other

Lahore Intelligence.

Sirdars, except Ranee Sudda Kooer and the sons of Mehtab Kooer, who, owing to dissatisfaction, did not accompany him. The Sirdar has since written to the former to remain at Lahore until the *Sunkrant* of *Maugh,* and that afterwards to act agreeably to what he may write.

The Sirdar has ordered all his troops to repair to his presence. Numbers are daily arriving. He has dispatched Chooher, *Kidmutgar,* to Sirdar Futta Sing, Allowala, Sirdar Jodh Sing, Kulseeah, Dhewa Sing, the son of Hurry Sing, and others, to repair to his presence with their respective forces without delay. Orders have also been written to Dewan Mokum Chund to join. It is expected that after meeting the King (Sujah-ul-Moolk), collecting money from the zemeendars of Sahewal, obtaining a settlement of the country at the foot of the hills, and taking some places as Wazeerabad, Goojrat, &c., the Sirdar will return to Lahore, and that he will detach Dewan Mokum Chund with all his troops towards Mooltan; and it is also imagined that the Sirdar with all his troops and Sikhs will accompany the King towards Mooltan, in expectation that the Duranies now with Mahomed Shah will come over to him and thereby prevent his effecting any collections in that country and obstruct his passage to Peshour. By such a combination of the Duranies the arrangements of the Kingdom will be effected. It will be seen which of these expectations will be realized. A report prevails that a Vakeel has been dispatched on the part of Rajah Sahib Sing and the Sirdars of Malwa to Sirdar Runjeet Sing, and that they wish to effect some arrangements with him. The truth of this is best known to God.

Goordeal, Vakeel of Maharajah Dowlut Row, is said to be again coming. He has left Putteealah and is now on his way to Runjeet.

Sirdar Jodh Sing was prepared to march, postponed it yesterday on account of rain, and is expected to move to-morrow.

D. OCHTERLONY.

76. *From C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 9th January 1810.*

I AM directed by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, reporting the circumstances of an attack made on Lieutenant White by a party of Akalies from Umritsir. Attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor. Orders of Government.

2. His Excellency in Council entirely approves the measures which you adopted for the purpose of relieving Lieutenant White and his party from the dangerous situation in which they were placed by the hostile conduct of the lawless fanatics by whom they were attacked, and His Excellency in Council desires that you will employ your endeavors in the utmost degree which may be expedient for the discovery and punishment of the perpetrators of that unprovoked outrage.

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77. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 47, dated 20th January 1810.*

I HAVE the honor to transmit translate of intelligence from Lahore to 15th instant. My other news-writer confirms the principal fact of Runjeet having seized the whole country of Sahib Sing of Goojrat with the exception of a small portion which he has given to Golab Sing, his son; but he says nothing of his future operations being certainly directed to Bahawulpore and Mooltan, though this is certainly the prevalent opinion. Punjab Intelligence.

ENCLOSURE TO 77.

Punjab Intelligence from the 13th to the 15th January 1810.

SURDAR RUNJEET SING marched from Jullalpore with intent to take Uknoor (the fort of which place is extremely strong) from Alum Sing, a partner of the Rajah of Jummoo and dependant of Sahib Sing, and encamped at Munnawur.

Punjab Intelligence.

Surdar Sahib Sing made his escape and went to Goojrat. Runjeet Sing, having taken the country, demanded the three cannons which Sahib Sing at the time of being confined had promised and which he now refused, saying that when Goojrat shall be taken from me the cannons will also become your property. Golab Sing, his son, however, is with Runjeet Sing. The people, being oppressed, had petitioned him to send his own thana into Jullalpore, or they should go to some other place and settle themselves.

Runjeet Sing had sent messengers to require the attendance of Alum Sing of Uknoor and Sooltan Khan. Alum Sing, Rajpoot, who is a brother of the Jummoo Rajah, accordingly came, paid his respects, presented a horse and solicited protection, and said that both the fort and myself are at your service ; if it is your desire to take the fort, you are welcome; I have no objection. Runjeet Sing bid him be contented and said that the fort of Uknoor is my object owing to its contiguity to Cashmere, and the road to that place from hence being safe my army being stationed here can opportunely take possession of Cashmere, and settlements with the Rajahs of the neighbourhood can be easily obtained.

The Rajah of Chib, the *Killahdar* of Mungla, and the Rajah Ajeet Sing of Jummoo, came in obedience to the call of Surdar Runjeet Sing and presented *nuzzers*, and Koor Khan Sing with his troops has marched from Lahore. Sudda Kooer may have arrived there before. Jodh Sing, Ramgurhea, has reached the Army at Munnawur, and the Dewan (Mokum Chund), who had crossed the Ravee, may have also joined. Troops gathering from all quarters are proceeding to the Army.

Surdar Jodh Sing, Kulsea, who was waiting at Umritsir, marched from thence on the 15th for the Army with Runjeet, and the arrival of Surdar Futta Sing is expected very soon.

It is said that Runjeet Sing purposes going to Mooltan, and that he eagerly wishes to pay his respects to the King, but that the King is not much inclined towards him,

apprehensive lest he may either imprison, ask something of great value, or be the cause of some injury to him. The Surdar intended Sialkote for the accommodation of the Royal Family, and the King expects he should take Mooltan and give it to him. The Surdar's intentions towards Mooltan and Bahawulpore are inflexible. He has assembled his troops and the different Surdars, and if he did not mean to go personally, why has he called all his Surdars? It is evident at least that he intends to visit Bahawulpore and levy contributions. Punjab Intelligence.

1,400 cannon balls have lately been sent from Umritsir agreeably to orders, and a further commission for 10,000 blue lights has been received.

D. OCHTERLONY.

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78. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. Lushington, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 48, dated the 21st January 1810.*

I have the honor to transmit translate of intelligence received this day.

It cannot but be most mortifying and disagreeable to send information so various and contradictory, but I trust I shall be pardoned when it is considered that from my situation I must depend on the communications of men who are accustomed to write all they hear or observe without comment or reflection.

Futta Sing has been repeatedly summoned by the Rajah, and if he delays any considerable time at Umritsir it will be some sort of proof that he has received orders to the effect, though not for the purpose mentioned.

Enclosure to 78.

Punjab Intelligence from the 10th to the 18th January 1810.

Surdar Runjeet Sing remained encamped three days at Munnawur. Rajah Jeet Sing of Jummoo, Alum Sing of Uknoor, Outar Sing of Mungla and Bhai Lab Sing, Chib,

Punjab Intelligence.

with other zemeendars of the country adjacent to the hills, came to the *Hazoor*, and nearly the undermentioned sum as *nuzzerana* having been settled—

	Rs.
Rajah Jeet Sing of Jummoo . . .	10,000
Alum Sing of Uknoor	15,000
Outar Sing of Mungla	5,000
Bhai Lab Sing of Chib	5,000

they were suffered to depart; but Sultan Khan, Rajah of Rajaoree, being a dependant on Cashmere and relying on the strength of his own place, did not make his appearance. On the contrary, he made his escape and took shelter in a place of security. The Surdar, having appointed Futta Sing, Chachee, to chastise him, marched from thence and returned to Jullalpore, the inhabitants of which place being reduced to the greatest distress by the tyranny of Golaub Sing made daily complaints to the Rajah, who sent for the mother of Golaub Sing from the town, placed his own people there and committed her son to a guard in camp.

Sahib Sing, who without notice had left camp and sheltered himself at Goojrat and who refused to give up his cannons, being apprehensive of his life, has made his escape from thence also with 20 horses towards Mungla and Rajaoree, whereupon the Surdar sent Hakeem Azeezoodin to settle that country, and when he had effected the settlement of both the town and fort of Goojrat the Surdar himself went and remained there one night.

The *purgunna* of Shahdra is given to Dhunput Brahman as jagir in lieu of the wages of 200 horse. It is said that the *Killadar* of Bujwat was accidently met by Hookma Sing, Chimnee, in making his escape at night and plundered of about 15 horses and property.

In reply to the desire of Runjeet Sing that the King should come to Ramnagur or Pind Dadun Khan and meet him, Khooshally Mull came from the King and represented that the King said: "I have but lately arrived here and have

suffered much both in circumstances and property. I have not the power to go nor have I the means of furnishing myself with necessaries for the journey, but if the Surdar will himself come here we shall meet." The Surdar anxiously desires a meeting. It shall be seen where they meet. Dewan Mokum Chund has joined the Army. Punjab Intelligence.

Yesterday, the 15th, one hour after it became night, Futta Sing, Allowalla, simply attended, arrived at Umritsir, and the following day the whole of his troops, tents, 2 cannons and camp followers arrived. On the 17th Gooroo Bissumbher Dass of Jundeall, with his troops, also arrived at Umritsir and put up with Futta Sing, who has this day reviewed his force. Goordeal, the Vakeel of Dowlut Row, paid his respects to Futta Sing and said that at present Maharajah Dowlut Row and Juswant Row have mutually connived at and instigated Meer Khan to create disturbances with the English, and they are waiting for you. The English have by wheedling and deception taken the country. Since they have taken the east and south and subjected the Chiefs of those countries, of what extent is the Punjaub? But the Surdars of those quarters have yet some strength. To you no time can be better or more precious than the present, and if you will unite with fifty thousand horse, the subjection of the enemy will be effected with great ease and facility, and to pass over such a moment for a future period will only be the cause of regret and repentance. Surdar Futta Sing, upon hearing this, said that you should meet with Runjeet Sing. I also shall speak to him upon this subject, and whatever shall be his wish shall be mine.

I have learned from a trustworthy person verbally that Surdha Ram, son of Khooshally Mull, sent by Surdar Runjeet Sing to Futta Sing, has this day arrived, and in private said to him that the Surdar Bahadur wishes you should assemble the whole of your troops at Umritsir, and be personally in readiness for a movement with everything necessary. I shall also very soon arrive and proceed towards Hindoostan.

D. OCHTERLONY.

79. *From C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 23rd January 1810.*

Strengthening of Fort of Ludhiána.

I AM directed by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 44, dated the 31st ultimo,[1] enclosing a copy of a letter from Brigade-major Brownrigg describing his proceedings under your orders for laying in a stock of grain and other articles equal to fifteen days' consumption for the force under your command, and to inform you that the Vice-President in Council considers the terms under which the stores have been provided to be highly advantageous to the public, and that Brigade-major Brownrigg's prudent and zealous exertions are entirely approved by His Excellency in Council.

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80. *From C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated 23rd January 1810.*

I HAVE had the honor to receive and lay before His Excellency the Vice-President in Council your dispatch No. 43, dated the 30th ultimo,[2] enclosing copies of your further correspondence with the Dewan Mohkum Chund, and of a letter to your address from the Commander of the Goorkha force.

2. The tenor of your reply to the Dewan is entirely approved by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council.

Limitation of encroachments of the Gurkhas.

3. You have already been informed that your late correspondence with Ummer Sing has been transmitted to Fort St. George for the orders of the Governor-General; in consequence, however, of the near approach of the Goorkha troops to the possessions of the Sikh Chiefs under our protection, His Excellency in Council apprehends that considerable embarrassment may ensue unless the Goorkha Chief be early apprized of the limits to which he must confine his operations in order

[1] 74 *supra.*
[2] 73 *supra.*

to avoid interference with the possessions under the protection of the British Government.

4. The imperfect knowledge possessed by Government of the exact geographical situation of those places which are the scenes of the present depredations of the Goorkhas prevents the Vice-President in Council from defining those limits with much precision, but His Excellency in Council will approve your stating to the Goorkha Chief that he cannot be permitted to extend his conquests to the districts below the hills; and, in the event of further discussions with Ummer Sing, you will consider the principle above noticed as a rule for the guidance of your conduct until you shall have been furnished with the instructions of the Right Honorable the Governor-General.

5. It is inexpedient in every point of view that Rajah Saheb Sing should interfere in any manner in the disputes between Runjeet Sing and the Goorkhas. You will therefore be pleased to intimate to Saheb Sing that if he takes any part in the contest he will incur the displeasure of the British Government.

Interference of Patiála in disputes between Ranjit Singh and the Gurkhas.

6. His Excellency in Council is aware of the difficulty which you must experience in adjusting the numerous and vexatious claims which the restless proprietors of contiguous land refer to your decision, and in the judgment of His Excellency in Council the mode which you generally adopt of advising the contending parties to consent to mutual restitution of plundered property and arbitration in the case of disputed boundaries is the best which, considering the nature of the Government and the habits of the people, can be adopted.

Adjustment of disputes of Sikh landed proprietors.

7. His Excellency in Council deems it advisable that you should be kept regularly informed of the state of affairs at the Marhatta Courts; and the Resident at Delhi will therefore be instructed to communicate to you such intelligence as he may obtain of the projects and intentions of those Durbars.

81. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated the 24th of January 1810.*

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor.

THE cruel and wanton outrage lately committed upon Lieutenant White while surveying the country in the vicinity of Batindah has, no doubt, made the deepest impression upon your mind. Whether viewed in the light of a wanton act of barbarous aggression upon a party of inoffensive persons, or considered in the light of a national insult from the public nature of Lieutenant White's then situation, I confess it appears to me to be of the utmost importance to our proper political influence in that quarter to evince to the Sikhs of every rank and description that so atrocious an act of aggression will not be suffered to take place with impunity. It appears that the ringleader of the banditti was a person called Bhola Sing, who is an Ukaulee, or priest, and lives at a place called Dum-dummeh Jee in the vicinity (as I understand) of Batindah, but that he neither professes allegiance to Rajah Saheb Sing nor to Rajah Jeswant Sing, but acts as if he were independent of both. It strikes me, however, that, if the active co-operation of those Chiefs and the cordial aid of their local exertions could be obtained, much might be effected, and I have accordingly expressed to them my expectation that they would exert themselves upon the occasion. I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of my correspondence on the subject with Jeswunt Sing, and a transcript of a letter which I have addressed to Rajah Saheb Sing,[1] from which you will be pleased to observe that I have candidly declared that, though I acted merely from myself, and without the orders of my Government, whose instructions on the subject I had not yet received, I did not imagine that Government would rest contented with the poor and unsatisfactory amends of the robbers being obliged to make restitution of the plundered property. I was desirous of availing myself of this opportunity to lay down the principle that, according to our notions of justice and of policy, the compelling banditti to relinquish and restore their booty upon such occasions will

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

never be deemed by us an adequate amends; and I was the *rather* desirous of making this declaration upon the present occasion because, as it is combined with an explicit assurance that however conformable to the general spirit and principle of our system its application to the case in question originates with myself, the British Government is not committed by the measure, and in the event of its being pleased to deem it expedient to deviate from the doctrine which I have laid down, and to adopt a language of a palliative and modifying nature, it will have it in its power so to do, without inconsistency or relaxing from its dignity. To myself, I confess, it appears to be an occasion which calls for high and spirited expostulation, were it only to guard against the repetition of such atrocity in future.

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White, Surveyor.

2. I have only to add that I shall be very happy to be honored with any communications from you upon this painful but interesting subject.

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82. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. Lushington, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 49, dated the 30th January 1810.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant,[1] and am highly gratified to learn that the measures I adopted on receipt of Lieutenant White's note have been approved by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council.

Advice of Colonel Ochterlony as to the measures to be adopted.

2. It does not appear to me that Bhola Sing was actuated by fanaticism, but solely by the desire of plunder, in his attack on that officer, in which, from the same motive, he was joined by a number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages over whom the Surdars possess very little authority, and there cannot well be a stronger proof of the imbecility of Rajah Sahib Singh than his suffering such a fellow and with so small a body of troops (at the utmost not exceeding fifty horsemen) to seize and retain one

[1] 76 *supra*.

Attack on Lieutenant F. S. White. Advice of Colonel Ochterlony as to the measures to be adopted.

of his villages, and by that means increasing the means and power of the zemeendars to resist his authority and withhold their rents.

3. I have ventured in a letter to the Resident at Dehli (a copy of which will accompany this address) to offer my opinion that the punishment and expulsion of Bhola Sing from their districts should not only be demanded and insisted upon, but that it should be done by themselves, unaided by any British troops, in order to ensure their future vigilance, and to evince that such conduct will not pass unnoticed or unpunished by Government.

4. It is not possible that they can with truth pretend inability, and the trifling inconvenience it might put them to, if they would sustain any, would perhaps be the means of securing the safety and protection of any other officer employed on similar service.

5. Perhaps even on any future occasion of that nature it might be thought advisable to call on the Chiefs to furnish fifty or a hundred men each, under a proper and respectable dependant of their own, instead of sending an escort of regular troops.

6. Should this plan be adopted, the officer deputed on a survey would be at once placed under their protection and responsibility, and those frivolous and probably ill-founded complaints which they are accustomed to make would be avoided.

7. The smallest detachment of British troops must necessarily have supplies of firewood, grain, &c., and if they will not bring them out to the camp for sale, which the villagers often refuse, although assured of a fair price and a protecting guard, some ground of complaint may occur, but with a Sikh escort they turn their horses into the finest grain fields and not a murmur is heard.

8. I have ventured to offer this opinion to the consideration of His Excellency in Council under an idea that some

future attempt may be made to survey those turbulent districts, and I know of none more likely to be attended with success unless the Surveyor was attended by such a force of regulars as might defy opposition and be able to supply themselves.

9. I have the honor to send copy and translation of a letter received last night from a native in my employ at Lahore in reply to some observations which I made to him and which seem to me worthy of being communicated to His Excellency in Council. **Intelligence from Lahore.**

10. I take the liberty of requesting attention to the last paragraph, which I have translated to the best of my ability in the same loose manner of the original ; and I would wish to submit to those more conversant in the language than myself whether the writer does not mean to state that all the preparations alluded to are defensive and the result of apprehension and jealousy rather than hostile intentions. My reason for so particularly soliciting attention to this paragraph in the original is that it may bear a different interpretation.

ENCLOSURE TO 82.

Translation of a letter from a Native at Lahore.

ON the 25th by the hands of a *hurkarah* I received your letter mentioning that the Colonel complained of the vague information I sometimes give, and desiring that I would weigh well the intelligence I send and say how far it was founded on truth or probable falsehood.

It is necessary that whatever I hear I should represent to the Colonel, because such things as to me appear false may afterwards prove true and take effect, and then I should seem neglectful, nor can I be responsible that they will or will not occur. (For instance) Lalla Surdaram told Futta Sing that the Rajah's intention was to move towards Hindoostan, and

Intelligence from Lahore.

that he was for the present to remain and protect this country at Umritsir, to collect his force at one spot, and to remain prepared to march. There is no doubt that he said this, for an agent whom I employed at Umritsir received this information from the *Paishkar* of Surdaram and gave it to me. I therefore reported it, but how can I say positively that such a one (the Rajah) will come to Hindoostan.

In the assemblies and consultations of the Surdars an attack on that quarter is often the subject, but on account of a deficiency of treasure and a want of unanimity amongst them this design has not been accomplished.

It is obvious that except Futta Sing, Allowalah, and Jodh Sing, Ramgurriah, there is not a Surdar left, or if one remains he is without power. The object of the Rajah in thus reducing them is that if he suffered them to remain in any strength they would probably desert him in the hour of necessity. He therefore has subdued all the ancient Chiefs and given their lands to his own *rishtadars* or dependants, who in case of necessity would act in obedience to his orders; but there cannot be the least doubt that if he had the power he would not delay an attack. There is no one at present who can oppose him but the British Government.

The Maharattas, such as Dowlut Row and others, are instigating him to commence hostilities, and he on his part is desirous that they should begin and he would join them, and in this latter plan the Dewan Mokum Chund coincides. This is the present state of matters.

The Rajah is possessed of understanding and weighs well what he undertakes. It does not therefore appear probable that at this moment the Rajah will attempt anything. Although the Vakeel of Dowlut Row is come and seeks to entice him, yet all the preparations he is making in assembling his troops, raising battalions on the English plan and putting his forts in a state of defence are only preparatory to that day when he may possibly encounter the English Army.

D. OCHTERLONY.

83. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated the 12th February 1810.*

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 29th ultimo, on the subject of the attack made upon Lieutenant White. I have also received your letter of the following date, enclosing your dispatch No. 49 [1] to Government on the same interesting, though distressing, subject.

2. It would no doubt be extremely desirable to avail ourselves, as suggested by you, of the exertions of the friendly Sikh Chiefs for the purpose of effecting the seizure and punishment of Bhola Sing, the ringleader of the banditti, if, upon such an occasion, their zealous co-operation could be depended upon. I fear, however, that, partly from the inefficiency of their troops and partly from the character of sanctity attached by them to that sanguinary robber, as an Ukaulee, their unaided exertions would be inadequate to the attainment of the object.

3. In supposing Bhola Sing to be an Ukaulee I am not guided by mere report. I have even reason to believe that he is one of those bloodthirsty fanatics who made the unprovoked attack at Umritser upon the Mission to Lahore last year during the celebration of the ceremonies of the Mohurrum ; for, on referring to the Umritser newspaper of the 25th February 1809, I find the name of Bhola Sing mentioned as the ringleader of that ferocious band. According to the information of Rajah Jeswant Sing he was formerly in the service of Rajah Runjeet Sing, and was dismissed on account of his tumultuous and disobedient conduct, since when he has resided at Dumdummeh Jee, a refractory town in the country of Rajah Sahib Sing. In a letter which I lately addressed to Humeer Sing, the Vackeel at this place on the part of Rajah Sahib Sing of Putteealah, I expressed my astonishment, concern and disappointment both at the Rajah's not having originally provided for Lieutenant White's personal security, and at his not having

[1] 82 *supra.*

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

exerted himself in apprehending the banditti. In reply, the Vackeel acquainted me that, as Bhola Sing, after his attack upon Lieutenant White, had withdrawn first to Telwundee in the country of Sahib Sing, and then to a strong independent place called Mukootsur, in the vicinity of the troops of Mohkum Chund, Runjeet's Dewan, it was not in the power of his master (Rajah Sahib Sing) to punish that robber. The Vackeel further recommends that, in the event of its being deemed expedient to effect the punishment of Bhola Sing, the necessary communication may be made to you, and the co-operation of the other Sikh Chiefs solicited, in order to insure success. This suggestion can only relate to Jeswunt Sing, since, of all the friendly and dependent Sikh Chiefs, those of Nabah and Putteealah are the only Surdars whose territories are situated in the vicinity of Bhola Sing's place of retreat. It is indeed near the south-eastern frontier of Rajah Runjeet Sing's possessions. But from him or his Dewan, Mohkum Chund, no active co-operation upon this occasion could be expected.

4. I have deemed it necessary to enter into these details previously to acquainting you that Government has been pleased to authorize me, in the event of my ascertaining that Bhola Sing has actually found refuge in Runjeet Sing's camp, to address a representation to that Chief requiring his delivery to the authority of the British Government. It certainly would appear from public report, as also from the intelligence communicated to me by the Sikh Chiefs now at Dehli, that Bhola Sing did proceed to Mohkum Chund's camp in the vicinity of Kotekapoora, and that he was permitted to remain there. Still, however, previously to making the application in question I should be happy to be informed whether you have reason to believe, from such authentic intelligence as you may have received on the subject, that this was actually the case. In the event of its being true, I should conceive it would warrant a strong expostulation with Runjeet Sing on the unfriendly conduct of his Dewan towards the British Government. With

respect to the person of Bhola Sing, as it is probable that he is now returned to his usual habitation of Dumdummeh Jee or Mukootsur, it strikes me that nothing but the attack and reduction of those places, if completely in his interest or under his influence, could be considered as adequate satisfaction. Yet, if the united efforts of the Rajahs of Nabah and Putteealah are in truth unable to effect this, I really know not how, under existing circumstances, it is to be accomplished. On being favored with your reply to this letter, I shall address Government finally on the subject, which I consider as a matter of infinite importance to the name and credit of the British Government in this quarter.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

P. S.—I have the pleasure to transmit a copy of my correspondence with Humeer Sing, the Vackeel of Putteealah, referred to in the 3rd paragraph of this dispatch.

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84. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Loodeana, to A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 20th of February 1810.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant,[1] and in consequence to send you extracts[2] from all my Putteealah newspapers that contain any information respecting the Ukallee, Phoola Sing, antecedent and subsequent to his attack on Lieutenant White.

2. By these extracts it would appear that Humeer Sing is so far warranted in his assertions that intelligence was received there that Phoola Sing had gone to Kotekapoora, but this circumstance is positively and peremptorily denied by Mokum Chund's Vakeel, and I have no means at this moment of establishing the fact. To the assertions of the latter I am inclined to give the most credit, but supposing the Putteealah intelligence to be true, I take the liberty to observe that I should still think all expostulation improper, because I conceive it would be useless. I would not wish to be thought insensible or indifferent to the atrocious conduct of Phoola Sing,

[1] 83 *supra.*

[2] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

but I am anxious that any animadversion made by the British Government should not be susceptible of denial, and above all that the subject of our complaint should not be retorted on our own protégés. Having been much in the habit of corresponding with the Rajah of Lahore, I have no doubt he would deny the fact even if true and he knew it to be so, and he would allege its improbability on the notorious fact that Phoola Sing was expelled from his territory and the lands given for his subsistence confiscated on account of his conduct towards the British Mission, and to prove his respect for and good-will to the British Government he would in all probability, and in my opinion with great justice, comment on the conduct of Rajah Sahib Sing for having suffered a miscreant, who was universally known as the chief instigator and leader of that base and sanguinary massacre, to find an asylum in his country; and he might observe that even if he was inadequate to the task of dispossessing him, still it was a duty of allegiance and of gratitude to have intimated to the officers of the British Government that such a man had obtained a footing, and not have permitted their first knowledge of the circumstance to have been obtained by a renewal of his atrocities in the country which they have taken under their protection.

3. There was not a Chief on this side of the Sutledge who was ignorant of the fact and cause of his expulsion from the Punjab, nor in all probability one who did not know of his having gone to Dumdumajee, and to their culpable neglect and silence on this subject I cannot help ascribing every consequence that followed.

4. It is on this account more particularly, and on another which I shall mention hereafter, that I am anxiously desirous the seizure or expulsion of Phoola Sing should be their own act under the orders of the British Government, and that all the notice taken of the circumstance to the Rajah of Lahore should be limited to an intimation that his seizure was ordered, and it would be considered as an attention to the British Government if he would deliver up the assassin should

he again seek refuge in the country from which his misconduct had formerly occasioned his banishment.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

5. Having in recollection the massacre at Banares, I need not observe to you, who are so intimately conversant with the customs of Hindoostanees, how generally averse they are to deliver up any one who has placed himself under their protection, and how very rarely they discriminate between the fugitives of misfortune and of crime.

6. From Runjeet our experience does not warrant us to expect a firm and dignified refusal, but we have on the contrary every reason to believe that he would have recourse to every species of evasion, subterfuge and falsehood. Previously therefore to making any demand on the Rajah of Lahore, I should humbly conceive it would be advisable to ascertain how far the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council would, under present circumstances, deem it expedient to make a peremptory demand with only the alternative of the delivery of his person or war; for, if we are to rest satisfied with such falsehood and evasions as he will not hesitate to adopt, and which he considers merely as political finesse, I cannot help thinking it would be better it were never made.

7. I have entered into this long discussion because I conceive it by no means improbable that Phoola Sing, though at this moment at Tulwandy or Dumdumajee, might on the advance of a British detachment in that direction again solicit the protection of the Rajah of Lahore; and it seems to me very desirable that, before we attach a great importance to what is past, every possible consequence should be maturely weighed, and if in the opinion of Government a rupture with Runjeet is rather to be desired than avoided, there is no doubt we cannot insist too strongly on the delivery of Phoola Sing should he fly to him for protection, but, if a demand is made which is not to be enforced by arms, it will in my opinion be only to afford him a cause for triumph in the success of his system of falsehood and prevarication and to awaken a jealousy which, if not entirely subsided, seems to have lost much of its violence.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

8. I have ventured to submit this subject to your consideration as it appears to affect our external relations. It now only remains to point out such circumstances as appear to have an effect on the minds or dispositions of the Chiefs under our protection, to elucidate which I shall transmit accompanying such accounts as I have received of the strength, situation and sanctity of Dumdumajee, in which Phoola Sing is now said to have taken refuge.

9. I must, however, beg leave to refer you for geographical information to Lieutenant White, who, having been at or near the spot, can point out the exact site of this place and will determine its distance from the military posts of Kurnaul, Hansie or Loodeana.

10. Dumdumajee is situated about a *coss* from Tulwandy, and is, from what cause I know not, considered a sacred place by the Sikhs, where there are seldom less than from three to five hundred Ukalies, and it is I imagine from this circumstance that the event of Phoola Sing having arrived there was never mentioned by Rajah Sahib Sing or by any of the many Chiefs or their Vakeels who have been in attendance during my command at Loodeana; and from this incident I draw the conclusion that an attack on this nest of fanatics would not only be unsupported, but would in all probability be considered as a sacrilege for which our protection and friendship would be but an inadequate equivalent, and would in fact render them decidedly hostile to our Government if we should ever have occasion for their services. It is necessary, however, to state that this is merely conjecture and is only mentioned in the idea that you may be able, without seeming to have a doubt, to ascertain the sentiments of the Chiefs now at Dehlie as to an attack by *us* on this sanctuary.

11. These observations and remarks, suggested by your letter of the 12th instant, I have thought it my duty to communicate without reserve, and I feel persuaded that, although they may not appear to you so well founded or so important as they seem to my mind, you will pardon an excess of caution at this moment, when it seems so desirable to conciliate every

Native power and to eradicate as much as possible the too prevalent opinion that we grasp at every pretext to augment our territory and extend our dominion.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

12. In my communications on this subject with Rajah Sahib Sing I have expressed myself very candidly of his great neglect and inattention, but I have never seemed to consider the whole blame to rest with him, and it will appear from the extract of intelligence [1] which I have the honor to transmit that it never appears he was unable to resist the encroachment of this villain, but that his forbearance either proceeded from his idiot imbecility or his fanaticism.

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85. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Ludhianeh,—dated the 23rd of February 1810.*

With reference to my letter of the 12th instant [2] to your address, on the subject of the attack made upon Lieutenant White in the month of December last, I have now the honor to acquaint you that, in conformity to my urgent suggestions, the three Sikh Chiefs now at Dehli, *viz.*, Bhye Laul Sing, Rajah Bhaug Sing and Rajah Jeswunt Sing, have agreed to unite their joint efforts to those of Rajah Sahib Sing of Putteealah for the purpose of seizing and bringing to punishment Bhola Sing, the ringleader of the gang of banditti by whom the outrage in question was committed, and that Humeer Sing, the Vackeel at this place on the part of Rajah Sahib Sing, has engaged for the hearty co-operation of his master in this most necessary exertion. From the Rajah himself I have not heard since the plan has been determined upon, but his Vackeel entertains no doubt of his entering heartily into the cause. I am aware that from himself, in consequence of the imbecility of his character, nothing is to be expected. But I trust that those who have the

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

[2] 83 *supra*.

Measures for obtaining redress for the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

management of his affairs will see the necessity of exerting themselves upon the occasion.

2. If the joint endeavors of those Chiefs be exerted, I have no doubt of their success; and, as the Rajah of Putteealah has a direct and evident interest in the result, since it would re-establish his authority in a part of his country where it is not at present acknowledged, I should hope that real co-operation may be expected from the persons who have the management of his affairs.

3. The principal anxiety of the Chiefs appears to arise from a fear lest the troops of Runjeet Sing stationed at or near Kote Kapoora should assist Bhola Sing. This, however, appears to me to be very improbable, and so I have told them. From the enclosed copy of my correspondence with Sahib Sing you will be pleased to observe that he lays considerable stress upon the likelihood of the influence of the Dewan Mohkum Chund being exercised in opposing the plan.

4. Possibly your exerting your influence with Rajah Sahib Sing upon this occasion and endeavoring to make him and his advisers perceive the great advantage to that Chief with which the plan would be attended (exclusive of the obligation which he is under to exert himself on the grounds of justice) would tend to secure their co-operation.

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86. *Intelligence relating to Raja Ranjit Singh from the 4th to the 10th March 1810.*

Intelligence relating to Raja Ranjit Singh.

On the 4th the Rajah came to the *Eadgah* and sent for Habeeb Olla Khan, the brother-in-law of Shujah-ul-Mulk, and Jummyet Roy, Vakeel of Nawab Mozuffer Khan, and directed them to go and desire the Nawab to deliver over the fort (Mooltan), and in case of refusal to inform him that he was determined not to leave the place until subdued. Sooltan Ali, a gunner who had about a year ago left the service of the Surdar and had since been in the employ of the Nawab, seeing

the distressed state of the besieged, deserted and came over to Runjeet, who made him a present of 200 rupees and placed him in charge of the cannon he had before. Numbers of the Surdar's troops, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, had gone into the country towards Tolumbha and Hurriana, and Bhawulpoor, and had brought away grain and cattle, but at the request of Gunnaish Dass, Vakeel, the cattle belonging to the country of the Nawab were returned and orders issued against plunder in that direction.

Intelligence relating to Raja Ranjit Singh.

On the 5th the Surdars Meet Singh, Nehal Singh and others, who in obedience to the orders of the Surdar had pushed on their approaches, were met by the counter-approaches of the besieged, when five of the Rajah's men were killed and the rest fled. Originally Nawab Mozuffer Khan offered to give Runjeet Sing two lacs of rupees and a number of horses, with one of his sons to remain in his service. The Surdar had referred this subject to Dewan Mohkum Chund for advice, who replied that if that sum had been taken at Utch it would have been of no consequence; but, as batteries have been erected and operations actually begun, it is not advisable to return without the surrender of the fort. It is probable that this place, which is a second Kangra, will soon yield to your prosperous fortune, as the enemy has but a small force and no probability of support.

On the 6th the Surdar sent Gunnaish Dass, Jummyet Roy and Kurm Shah to the Nawab Mozuffer Khan to inform him that His Majesty Shuja-ul-Moolk had given him the country under his own seal; that it would be best for him to surrender, but, if it was not agreeable to him to give the country to the Surdar, he might deliver it over to the brother-in-law of Shuja-ul-Moolk. The Nawab replied that the whole of the country had been plundered, and he had not the means now to give more than 1,25,000 rupees (which according to the usual appreciation in Kabul was equal to five lacs of rupees), the personal services of one of his sons and his own in the same manner that he had formerly paid them to the King, but that, if he had resolved on his expulsion, he was equally

Intelligence relating to Raja Ranjit Singh.

determined not to surrender the fort while he lived. On this message the Surdar sent to the Commandants and observed to them angrily that, as they had now broken down a yard of the top of the wall, they might carry the place by assault. Jowahir Singh and others observed that, owing to the height, an assault was still impracticable, but if he was determined they requested him to pay the troops their arrears for eleven months that their families may have wherewith to subsist while they lament the loss of their relations. The Surdar, hearing this, remained silent. Several of the Sikh Surdars are jealous of the Dewan at his fomenting a quarrel which had been nearly adjusted, and in which thousands might probably be killed. It is also said that the Dewan repents of his advice. Rujjub Ali Khan of the Gurh Maha-Rajeh-Walah and his brother Sooltan Ali Khan, who were in confinement by Runjeet Sing, have agreed to pay 15,000 rupees, and having given their sons as hostages have departed for the purpose of fulfilling their engagements. 30,000 rupees has been agreed for payments by Mohummud Khan, Moongrawalah, through his Vakeel. Mohummud Sadik had before sent a camel, a matchlock, musket and 5 *khillats* by Gunnaish Dass, his Vakeel, to Runjeet Sing, and this morning a confidential servant arrived charged with the delivery of two horses and a camel, finely ornamented, as a tribute, and fifty-five thousand rupees in cash was agreed to be paid.

On the 7th Surdars Meet Sing, Bhrena, (*sic*) and Nehal Sing, Ootareewalah and Ghundah Sing, Saffee, were successively sent to the Dewan to say that he made no attempts to advance the siege, and directed him to push on his approaches that the fort might soon surrender. The Dewan said that he was not one moment idle, but by the blessing of God it would be shortly accomplished, and showing 6 pair of golden bangles to his soldiers he promised any one of them a pair who would push on the trenches, but on [that day no one would undertake it.

On the 8th the Surdar sent Bysakha Sing into the fort to *feel their pulse*; about 10 o'clock he came back and

reported that they were willing to give 1,25,000 rupees, but urged the plunder of the country as an excuse for their inability to give more, on which the Surdar, enraged, said that the Vakeels had already offered two lacs and many horses, and that from his report he considered all his people to be swayed by bribery. This day the Dewan by large offers and great encouragements advanced his trenches, and ladders and other materials are preparing to storm the place. Of four mines carried on from the city, the besieged have sprung one, and two mines, one of the Dewan and one of Dul Sing, Naharnah, are carried on quite close, and about 4 o'clock in the evening the latter brought some of the bricks of the wall and reported to the Surdar that they had got under the bastion, and by the blessing of God everything would soon be ready. The Surdar was much pleased and gave him 4,000 rupees for the expense of the force, besides 5 villages, a horse, a pair of shawls and a pair of golden bangles. Surdar Budh Sing, Bhungee, and Nidhan Sing, Kanheya, with 5,000 horse and foot, arrived from Umritser, and 19 wall pieces have been received from Goojerwaul.

Intelligence relating to Raja Ranjit Singh.

On the 9th Chanda Sing was dispatched to bring some Moulvey in the confidence of Mohummud Sadik, and Choohur Mul, *khidmutgar*, is stationed with three elephants to bring in straw and rubbish from the jungles to Mohkum Chund, supposed for the purpose of filling the ditch. Kureem Oolah Khan, Chief of Meerpoor near Goojrat, was killed this afternoon by a cannon shot, and in the evening the Rajah ordered Sewa Sing to go to all the Surdars commanding batteries and to order them to advance during the night, and if any were careless they must expect punishment; for as the batteries were advancing it was necessary to prepare for the storm. It is probable that in the course of four or five days the will of fate will be discerned.

On the 10th the Surdar went out to take an airing, and on his return to the garden of Huzzoory was busily employed in preparing ladders, &c., and as this country is quite depopulated he has stationed thanas at the distance of 15 and 20

coss for the purpose of keeping the road open to Lahore. Nawab Mozuffer has a thousand men in the fort, and at first offered two lacs of rupees, many horses and the attendance of his son, but, seeing the Rajah resolved on his ruin, he is determined to stand to the last extremity. It is said that Mozuffer Khan's Dewan has been killed by the bursting of one of their own shells.

D. OCHTERLONY, LIEUT.-COL.,

Commanding at Loodeana.

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87. *Intelligence of the Surdars of the westward and Punjab up to the 28th of March 1810.*

Frontier Intelligence.

IT is understood by the accounts of those who have arrived from the west that Mahmood Shah and Futteh Khan, having heard of the intentions of Shah Shuja, his reconciliation with the *Subadar* of Cashmere and his meeting with Surdar Runjeet Sing and the favorable inclination of the people of Peshawer to the Shah Shuja-ul-Moolk and Zeman Shah, have determined to send two thousand horse to the assistance of Mohummud Azeem Khan, the Foujdar, and to follow him up themselves to meet the enemies. It is said that they will come from Kandahar by Goolberg, the upper road from Cabul.

Zeman Shah is in the camp of Golaum Mohummud Khan at the village of Hyder. The Shahzada Yunas, son of Zeman Shah, at Attock, and the army of Ehahiah Khan, which came from Cashmere, is encamped with Zeman Shah at Hyder, with whom is Nund Ram Pandit, Dewan of the deceased Vazir. Shair Mohummud Khan and Ehahiah Khan request of the Shah Shuja-ul-Moolk to proceed to Peshawer himself, but His Majesty does not place any reliance on Atta Mohummud Khan or his assistance, on account of the death of Shair Mohummud Khan, notwithstanding Ehahiah Khan's agreements and Atta Muhammud Khan's having settled to take the *Vizarut* on himself. He therefore orders that the whole

force with the Shahzada should precede him, and when they have possession of Peshawer he will follow, the real meaning of which is that in the first action their real intentions will be discovered.

Frontier Intelligence.

By other accounts it is stated that Mehmood Shah and Futteh Khan remain in Kandahar, and that he has bestowed the *Vizarut* on Futteh Khan, and has sent Atta Mohummud Khan, the son of Ahmed Khan, Noozae, to Dera Ghazi Khan in the room of Jubber Khan, the brother of Futteh Khan, who is ordered to proceed to Peshawer. Rawul Khan, another brother of Futteh Khan, is also sent to Peshawer, where Mohummud Khan now is making every necessary preparation.

Golaum Mohummud Khan, the brother of Atta Mohammud Khan, is in possession of the fort of Attock and Shah Shuja at Rawul Pindy, and the army sent from Cashmere has arrived on the banks of the Attock. It is also stated that some differences have arisen between Shah Shuja and Zeman Shah.

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88. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 51, dated the 16th of March 1810.*

Capture of the City of Multán by Ranjit Singh.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council, that by letters received this day from Punjab and from the camp of the Rajah of Lahore it appears that he arrived before Mooltan on the 24th ultimo and obtained possession of the city on the 25th.

Grain of every kind is said to be dear in his camp, but he seems determined not to accept of any terms short of the surrender of the Fort of Mooltan, and with it in fact the possession of that country, in the hope of levying future contributions from and obtaining a controul over the Chiefs of Bhawulpore, Lyah, Bhukur and Sind.

The same accounts mention a rumour in his camp of their proceeding from Bhawulpore to Batindah and Putteealah.

I have transmitted by this day's dawk transcripts of the Persian papers and letters to the Persian Interpreter of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, but I believe the above contains all the intelligence which is in any degree material.

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89. *From C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 20th of March 1810.*

Encroachments of the Gurkhas.

I AM directed by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council to transmit to you for your information and guidance the enclosed copy of a letter under date the 26th ultimo from the Secretary to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General respecting the encroachments of the Goorkha forces.

ENCLOSURE TO 89.

From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Secret, Political and Foreign Department, Fort William,—dated Fort St. George, the 26th of February 1810.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches noted in the margin, with their enclosures, relating principally to transactions and applications from several quarters respecting the operations and encroachments of the Goorkha forces in the hilly country bordering on the possessions of our Sikh dependants.

21st November.
Enclosure from Resident, Delhi, 5th November, 9th January.
Enclosure from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, 1st November, 16th December.
To Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, from Acting Secretary, 9th January, 23rd January.
From Colonel Ochterlony, 30th December.
To Colonel Ochterlony, from Acting Secretary, 23rd January.

2. It becomes necessary to establish some principle with a view to fix a certain limit both to the aggressions of the Goorkhas and to the exercise of our interference in that quarter, and for that purpose the Right Honorable the Governor-General is of opinion that the rule communicated by His Excellency the Vice-President in Council for the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony is the best that can be established, and recommends that Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony should be instructed to afford protection to all the possessions, to whomsoever they may belong, situated below the hills, and, on the other hand, to refrain from any interference within the hills. His Lordship is aware that several of our dependants, whose principal possessions are in the plains, have also lands in the hills, but does not consider them to possess any claim to our assistance beyond the natural boundary of the country which we have taken under our superintendence. From the security which they enjoy under our protection for their possessions in the plains they will be enabled to apply all their resources in case of attack to the defence of those which they hold in the hills.

Encroachments of the Gurkhas.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's correspondence with Raja Sansarchund and Raja Ram Sing of Nalagarh contained in his dispatch of 1st November 1809 is entirely approved. According to the principle before stated, that officer will consider it to be his duty to afford protection to the possessions of Raja Ram Sing situated below the hills, but will not interfere with respect to any which may be attacked by the Goorkhas within the hills.

4. Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony's proceedings on the overtures made by the Chief of the Goorkha forces, described in his dispatch of 16th December, are also approved, and His Lordship entirely concurs in the instructions issued to that officer under date the 9th January.

5. His Lordship also concurs fully in the instructions issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony on the 23rd January

and in the approbation which His Excellency the Vice-President in Council has expressed of his proceedings.

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90. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government,—No. 53, dated 29th of March 1810.*

Siege of Multán by Ranjit Singh.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 6th instant, a copy of which I immediately forwarded to the Resident at Dehlie, Bhye Lall Sing being at present at that city.

2. I have also the honor to transmit a *khurreeta*[1] this day received from the Nabab Muzuffer Khan to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, which was brought by my *hurkarahs* who conveyed His Lordship's letter to that Nabab.

3. These *hurkarahs* left Mooltan on or about the 13th instant and describe the Nabab as seemingly unapprehensive of the loss of his Fort from the attack of the Raja of Lahore, whose army, it is stated, suffers severely from the scarcity of provisions.

4. A letter this day received conveys intelligence of which the following is a translation :—

Ramanund, a banker of Umritser, received a letter by a *cossid* who came very expeditiously (no date mentioned), which states that the besieged had run a mine to the battery commanded by Uttar Sing, Dharee, which had been sprung and killed 12 men besides Uttar Sing. As the battery was very near to the Fort, they were not able to carry off the dead, who had been sent in by the besieged, the body of Uttar Sing covered with a pair of shawls.

It is added that so soon as this event happened Runjeet would not listen to any further negotiations, and the transit of Vakeels was discontinued or prohibited.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

91. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. Lushington, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 56, dated the 5th of April 1810.*

Threatened attack on Pinjore by the Gurkhas.

I have the honor to transmit, for the information of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, a copy and translation of correspondence which has occurred with Ummer Sing Thappa, the Commander of the Gorkha force, in consequence of your letter of instructions of the —— and the intelligence of apprehensions being entertained at the Putteealah Durbar that he meditated an attack on the forts and district of Punjore.

Groping in the dark as I am compelled to do, not only by our limited knowledge of the geography of this country, but by being liable to deception whenever interest may be supposed to require falsehood, I trust I shall be excused for giving the description and site of the different places mentioned in nearly the same words as I received them.

In giving my sentiments to Ummer Sing Thappa, I have cautiously stated them only as my own opinions on which I have not received any definite instructions from my superiors, so that, whatever may be the decision of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, I trust the door is left open for further amicable expostulation or positive prohibition as shall be thought most consistent with justice, policy or convenience.

Enclosure to 91.

No. 1, from Colonel Ochterlony to Umer Singh Thappa.

The Surdars bordering on the hills having come under the protection of the British Government, I was induced from the vicinity of the possessions of the Maharajah Beekramajeed Beekrum Sah to make a representation on the subject to Calcutta and request instructions. I have now received orders to the following effect: that, as friendship is established between the British Government and the Maharajah, it is not probable that any molestation will occur to any person or

persons under our protection, but should such an event happen it would be necessary for me to address the servants of the Maharajah on the subject, when they would abstain from such proceedings. Although nothing of this kind has yet occurred, it appears to me a proper caution to communicate this information.

No. 2, in reply from UMER SINGH THAPPA.

YOUR letter has been received and afforded satisfaction. In reply to what you have observed respecting the Chiefs bordering on the hills being under the protection of the British Government, I beg to observe that Punjore, Narrien Gurh and Lahurpoor are under or belong to the Surmoria or Nahun district, and under Hindour are Buddea and Pullasea, and these places have always belonged to whoever possessed Surmore and Hindour, and it is not proper that you should attend to the written or verbal representations of such complainants, because there has been for fifty years past a friendship between the British Government and the Maharajah Gorkha Bahadoor, which is always increasing, and their boundaries have ever been contiguous.

No. 3, in reply from Colonel OCHTERLONY.

I HAVE received yours informing (recapitulation). On weighing the subject of your letter I feel myself somewhat surprised. It is evident that, owing to the prevalent anarchy and confusion and the dissolution of all former arrangements, the revenues of the places you have mentioned have neither been uniformly collected nor remained under one ruler; yet, notwithstanding your penetration and sagacity, you consider these districts as appendages of Surmore and Hindour. Be pleased to reflect that in former times the Subah of Lahore was dependant on Shah Jehanabad, but for 50 years the revenues of that Subah have fallen into the hands of other rulers, and the wise or just would not now consider that there

was any bond of obedience remaining. Although I do not yet know whether Punjore is absolutely within or under the hills, but I clearly understand that it has been for 8 years past in the possession of Rajah Sahib Singh, and, as there is a friendship between you and the Rajah, I am confident that on that account you will abstain from all molestation.

If you argue that in former times the Talook of Punjore was subject to Rajeh Kurrum Purkas, *I might reply* that the Talook prior to that was in the possession of Rajeh Ghureeb Dass, the father of Gopaul Singh of Munny Majra, and the possessions of the Rajah of Putteealah are under the guardianship of the British Government; it is thus doubly entitled to their protection.

Lahurpoor and Narrien Gurh have been for the last three years under Jodh Sing, Kulsea, and Futteh Sing Allowaleh, whilst Buddea and Pullasia are the ancient possessions of Rajah Ram Sing. To connect therefore these places with Surmore and Hindour is far from wisdom. The countries on this side of the Sutledge to the foot of the hills having come under the protection of the British Government, if therefore your troops should interfere within these limits it will not be approved by the Supreme Government, and, although I have received no instructions regarding these particular places, yet in my judgment it may give rise to disputes, and it will be according to friendship that, keeping in view the concord between the two States, you should do nothing to interrupt their mutual friendship.

Note by Lieutentant-Colonel D. Ochterlony.

Surmore is a distinct government and extends about 300 *coss*, the whole of which has been lately seized by the Gorkhas, and of which Nahan is the capital and residence of the Rajah. Moornee is a hill fort in this district, the surrender of which is mentioned in Umer Sing's former letter transmitted in despatch No. 43. It is bounded by the small district of Kotaha belonging to Jaffir Ali Khan on the south-

west; on the east by the territory of Serinagar; on the south it extends to the foot of the hills near Booreah, and on the north by the town of Joolal, formerly possessed by Rana Thakoor, but now in possession of the Gorkhas.

Lahurpoor, mentioned in No. 2, is under the hills south and west, and was formerly possessed by Hadait Khan, Choudry of Rupore, but about 30 years ago it was annexed to his own territory by the father of the present Rajah, Kurrum Purkas, and again four years ago was wrested from the Rajah by Jodh Sing, Kulsea, in whose possession it now is.

Narrien Gurh is distant from Nahan 12 *coss*, from the hills about 8, and eastward of Umballa about 25 *coss*, built by the Nawab Sadik Beig Khan's Dewan, situated in what was formerly distinguished as the Pergunna of Suddoura. This fort was also taken about 30 years ago by the father of the Rajah, Kurrum Purkas, and fell about three years ago into the hands of Runjeet Sing, who bestowed it on Fatteh Sing, Allowaleh.

The Talooka of Punjore is about 30 *coss* north-west of Nahan and was formerly possessed by the ancestors of the Munny Majra man, from whom it was taken by the Surmorea Rajah, Kerut Purkas, and about 8 years since Louis Bourquin seized it and made it over for a pecuniary consideration to Sahib Sing of Putteealah, in whose possession it is to this day. Punjore is said to be about 7 *coss* from Munny Majra, but I have not been able to ascertain its precise situation, as they describe it as resembling a valley, yet deny it being amongst hills, so that I can only suppose they do not consider the lowest range as entitled to the name of hills. It is for the wisdom of the Honorable the Vice-President in Council to determine whether Punjore, wherever situated, which has been in the possession of the Putteealah Rajah, shall now be wrested from him by the Gorkhas because it was once under the Surmorea or Nahan Rajah.

Buddea was in the above Talook of Punjore and is still held by Rajah Ram Sing, Hindooreah, but is claimed by the Gorkha Commander, because he has already taken from him

Nalagurh and his strong forts in the hills. This too formerly belonged to Munny Majra, but has been in the possession of Rajah Ram Sing and his father 30 years, and is not, by the assertions of all from whom I have enquired, within the hills.

Pullasea is an ancient possession of Rajah Ram Sing, which he still holds, and the Gorkha Commander has no other claim upon this place than his having ejected him from all the hill places. This place is about 4 *coss* from the Sutluj, and from every description I have been able to obtain seems to be close under the hills.

D. OCHTERLONY.

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92. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 57, dated Surhind, the 17th of April 1810.*

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, that my intelligence from Mooltan dated the 1st current represents Mozuffer Khan as having increased his pecuniary offers to Rajah Runjeet Singh to four lacs of rupees, which had been rejected with a declaration that nothing short of the unconditional surrender of the Fort would be accepted, and the Nawab's Vakeels to have declared his determination to defend the place to the last extremity. Siege of Multán.

2. My news-writer also states that Runjeet had become extremely impatient at the length of the siege and the distress occasioned by the scarcity of provisions, which had been only partially alleviated by the arrival of some boat-loads of grain from Lahore, which had been distributed to the different Surdars.

3. Trenches were carried on close to the Fort, and mines were preparing to be sprung, but from his description it would appear the operations of the siege are unskillfully carried on,

and only a few feet of the upper part of the walls are yet damaged, and if the Nawab has the resolution to persevere, or is not compelled by a deficiency of ammunition to surrender, I think it probable from the present accounts the Rajah will be induced to raise the siege.

Encroachments of the Gurkhas.

4. Your letter of the 20th of March,[1] covering the instructions of the Right Honorable the Governor-General respecting the limits to which our protection should be extended, combined with the claims of the Gorkha Commander, which I had the honor to transmit in my last dispatch No. 56,[2] appear to me to render it necessary to ascertain the exact position of the Fort and *Talook* of Punjore, for which purpose I arrived at this place this morning and shall reach Punjore on the 20th.

5. In adopting this measure I hope I shall be honored with the approbation of His Lordship and of the Honorable the Vice-President in Council, as there did not appear anything particularly to demand my presence at Loodeana, and it seemed of the utmost consequence to remove any doubt excited by the vague and unsatisfactory descriptions received from the natives of its real site and consequent claim to our protection.

6. Captain Birch, to whose skill and abilities I have been already much indebted, kindly offered to accompany me, and through his assistance I shall be enabled to transmit such a sketch as will, I trust, prove satisfactory to the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council.

News from Peshâwar.

7. The Umritser intelligence of the 14th received this day states : That letters received from Peshawur mention that Mahmood Shah had occasioned great dissatisfaction by levying a tax on ploughs belonging to Hindoos of the tribe of Populzyes, which latter considered themselves injured and insulted by being put on a level with idolaters.

8. That the army and popularity of Shuja-ul-Moolk were daily augmenting, and it was supposed he would soon be

[1] 89 *supra.*

[2] 91 *supra.*

in sufficient force to quit Peshawur and proceed towards Cabul. Ehahiah Khan, however, had left him on account of some dissatisfaction not mentioned, and had arrived at Lahore on the 11th instant.

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93. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D.* OCHTERLONY, *Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C.* LUSHINGTON, *Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 58, dated Gorucknath, Valley of Punjore, 23rd of April 1810.*

Siege of Multán.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you that my intelligence from Mooltan up to the 8th current states the garrison to be still in good spirits, and that in the course of the last week they have so successfully annoyed the besiegers in various sallies and by countermines that Runjeet has thrown up some works, which from the description appear to be entrenchments.

2. Runjeet is represented as mortified and chagrined beyond measure at the length of the siege and the persevering bravery of the besieged, who have killed four or five of his Chiefs by throwing powder pots and other combustibles into a post which appears to have been an outwork of the Fort which they had gained.

3. This post Runjeet has regained with considerable loss, but it appears to have been so much injured during the short time it was in the possession of the Mooltanies that it is rendered of less consequence by their having erected a counterwork which commands it.

4. Mohkum Chund is said to be very dangerously ill, and it is the general opinion that Runjeet will accept of terms. Indeed it is reported at Lahore that he has already accepted of two lacs and-a-half and twenty stable horse and a promise of the attendance of 500 horse in service. The letter was dated the 19th from Lahore.

5. Shah Shuja writes to Runjeet that he confidently expects a speedy reattainment of his crown and country.

94. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General,—dated the 26th of April 1810.*

Measures for apprehending Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White.

I WAS duly honored by the receipt of your dispatch of the 20th February,[1] on the subject of the measures which it might be most advisable to adopt for effecting the seizure of the person of Bhola Sing, Ukalee, the head of the gang of robbers and murderers who committed the outrage upon Lieutenant White in December last while that officer was employed in the survey of the country of Rajah Saheb Sing.

2. I entirely agree with your opinion, both as to the probable result of an application to Runjeet Sing, if made, for the surrender of a person of this description who had taken refuge in his dominions, and as to the bad effects to the importance of our national character, with which an unsuccessful application would be attended. I have also been invariably of your opinion that the expulsion, and, if possible, the punishment or surrender of Bhola Sing should be effected by means of the exertions of Rajah Saheb Sing and the other Sikh Chiefs whose dominions are near the scene of the outrage, and who are declared to be under the protection of the British Government. In pursuance of this plan the necessary application was made to those Sikh Chiefs, and troops were accordingly detached by them in consequence against Dumdumajee, the usual place of residence of Bhola Sing. You are already acquainted with the unsatisfactory result of those measures, *viz.*, that Bhola was suffered (and seemingly with the connivance of Mullik Shera and Buhallee Sing, two of Rajah Saheb Sing's officers) to effect his escape, instead of being seized and punished in the manner which his atrocious crimes deserved.

3. If the report of the day can be credited, this murderer is now returned to Umritser. The object of the present letter is to request to be informed whether you have reason to think the report well-founded, and whether you are of opinion that under existing circumstances there is any probability that an

[1] 84 *supra*.

application to Runjeet Sing for his delivery would be attended with effect. This request is made with reference to the instructions contained in the dispatches of the 9th and 16th January from the Acting Political Secretary to the Government to your address and to my own, in the latter of which I am directed, "in the event of my ascertaining that Bhola Sing had taken refuge in the camp of Runjeet Sing, to address a representation to that Chief requiring his delivery to the authority of the British Government."

Measures for apprehending Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White.

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95. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 30th of April 1810.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and, for the reasons stated in my letter of the 20th of February, strengthened by the recent experience we have had of the respect paid to the Akalee character, I think that any demand to Rajah Runjeet Sing would be fruitless and impolitic and should not on any account be made unless to be most peremptorily insisted on.

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96. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 59, dated the 3rd of May 1810.*

IN my dispatch No. 56[1] I had the honor to report the claims of Ummer Sing Thappa to the districts of Punjor, Buddeah and Pullasseah, and to express the mortification I experienced at my inability to give with any accuracy a description of the exact position of these places from the information obtained from the natives, and in my dispatch No. 58[2] I had the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, of my determination to remove every doubt by a personal investigation and of my being at Surhind on my journey for that purpose.

Claims of Gurkhas to Pinjore.

[1] 91 *supra.*
[2] 93 *supra.*

Claims of Gurkhas to Pinjore.

2. I have now the honor to transmit a sketch[1] of my route through what is called the valley of Punjor from Munny Majra to Roper, which I trust will prove to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council that the claims of the Gorkha Commander are inadmissable and ought to be resisted. In giving thus freely so decided an opinion on a point of such importance I must beg leave to offer such reasons and observations as have had an influence on my mind and may serve in some degree to explain the sketch, which accompanies this address.

3. From about two *coss* or possibly three miles to the south-east of Munny Majra a small range of hills runs from that point to the town of Roper on the banks of the Sutledge, sloping off towards the extremities into mere rising grounds or heights, and increasing towards the centre to an elevation of about, but not exceeding, two hundred feet. This lower range is called by the natives *Teela* or *Tibba,* indifferently, whilst the inner or first range of mountains they call Purbut, which are distinguished by different names taken either from some principal fort, town or Government. Those which lay above our route were called Purbuts of Tuksaul and Hindour, and a little to the south-east of Munny Majra they are termed the Surmoreah, implying the mountains belonging to the Rajah of Nahan.

4. It will be seen from the sketch how much the valley widens towards the Sutledge from Nungul to Roper, and that, in conceding to the Gorkha Commander the places he pretends to claim, we should in fact admit him into the low country and virtually give him the whole tract between those two points, with the means of plundering the cattle and carrying off for sale the inhabitants of all the districts in their vicinity.

5. It is true that all the country from Loodeana to Nungul belongs to dependants, and some of it to the most strenuous adherents, of Runjeet; but I submit to the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council whether that consideration

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Claims of Gurkhas to Pinjore.

should influence us to withhold the name of our protection when the assumption is so far from being forced that it is considered by long and established usage as the determined boundary, and when that protection will shield numbers of the human race from slavery and from barbarities which have for many centuries been unpractised and unknown in common warfare. Independent, however, of all considerations of mere feeling, to concede the places demanded by Ummer Sing Thappa on the plea he claims would, I am afraid, make a most unfavorable impression of the British character, as admitting of encroachments within those limits which time and usage have fixed as the boundary of the Surhind Foujdary.

6. I was particular in my enquiries, and they were directed to those least interested in the question and who I endeavoured to keep ignorant even of my motive; but the answer was uniformly the same, that the tract we travelled, *viz.* from the Gugger at one extremity of the valley of Punjor to the Sutluj as far as Nungul, was universally understood to be what they termed the King's country or *Badshahy Moolk.* To place this in a stronger light I sought information respecting any valley which might lie towards the Jumna, and Kaardeh was described to me as exhibited in the sketch No. 2[1]; but it appears to be situate, not between the small hills and mountains as the valley of Punjor, but to be formed by the first and second range of mountains, and when I asked if this also was considered as the King's country, two or three of the people present immediately answered that it did not come under that description, but was in the Surmoreah or territory of the Rajah of Nahan, and had been seized within the last six months by the Gorkhas.

7. Though I would not venture to affirm strongly anything on such deceptive grounds as native information, yet from the description I have received I am led to imagine that the small heights which form the valley of Punjor, with the first range of mountains, terminate at the Gugger river, and that the high range is thrown forward to the west as it

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Claim of Gurkhas to Pinjore.

approaches the Jumna, so as to be nearly on a line with the heights on which Chundee is situated.

8. In making this journey I was influenced solely by the desire to ascertain as early as possible the site of the different places mentioned in the letter of Ummer Sing, which appeared the more necessary on receipt of the instructions from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General; but I had no idea of seeing anything beyond that deserving of attention.

9. It proved, however, very much the reverse, and were it proper I could dwell with pleasure on the general beauty of the whole scenery from Munny Majra to Roper, but I shall confine myself to such observations as are more suited to those I address and the situation I fill.

10. The single district of Punjor, which yields about ten thousand rupees to the Rajah of Putteealah, is the only one that is not in a very high state of cultivation, and if the Right Honorable the Governor-General should think proper to declare it under British protection will soon be cultivated to its utmost possible extent, numbers having sought refuge in this valley from the barbarity of the Gorkhas. The numerous streams will of course render it impassable during the rains, but in the dry months a road even for guns might easily be made by two hours' labor of an advanced company of Pioneers, and the hackerries which accompanied me met with no very great delay.

Description of Pinjore.

11. At Punjor itself I was astonished to find a mosque* and the most beautiful gardens I have ever seen in India, formed on a height in the middle of the valley with a broad and deep canal running through three successive inclosures and falling by cascades of about six feet from one to the other. Of the springs that furnish this canal few now remain, but we saw the remains of a great number (said to be three hundred) which a very little labor would restore, and which I conceive with the exertion of skill and ingenuity and the expenditure of no very great sum of money might be conveyed so as to irrigate the whole arid country

* This mosque has been converted into a military post, which in derision is now called Must Gurh.

D. O.

from Hansi to Firozpoor; whilst the Sursah, a small and rapid stream which runs through part of the valley and early joins the Sutledge about Amunkote, might easily be turned westward, to the great benefit of the husbandman, from the southward of Roper and Lodiana by Jugroun to the same point. So far, however, from availing themselves of these treasures, they do not appear to know how to use the blessings Providence has given them, as the streams which might so easily be converted to agricultural purposes are left to their natural course, and being soon lost in the Gugger or Soorsooty, partially bestow those advantages which skill and industry might have diffused through the whole country from Umballa, south and west, through the whole Sikh territory. Description of Piujore.

12. Such seem to me the advantages which the Sikh Chiefs might easily possess, and which to them would be incalculable, as I am of opinion that I have nowhere seen in India a more skilful, hardy or laborious race of husbandmen.

13. At Surhind, if a silk manufacture ever existed, it exists no more, nor is the memory of it preserved by tradition, but the ruins shew that it was a city of very great extent and opulence, and in the gardens, which are said to have been built by the Durveish Hafiz, are buildings which at a small expense might afford temporary shelter to a regiment of Europeans, hospitals, &c., and perhaps in no place could the two detachments of Kurnaul and Loodeana be united with more efficiency for internal controul or even for defensive purposes, from its being so centrical to all the principal ghauts of the Sutledge. I would, however, here wish to be understood that I would never give up Loodeana as a boundary mark, though it is as a fort or a post certainly not to be considered as defensible against any but our present neighbours. Advantages of Sirhind.

14. I have now only to express the gratification I should receive in being authorized to offer, on the part of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, any pecuniary remuneration he may think proper to Captain Birch for the trouble he has taken, not only on this occasion but for some time past, in the Application of Colonel Ochterlony for the services of Captain Birch as his Assistant.

Application of Colonel Ochterlony for the services of Captain Birch as his Assistant.

direction and superintendence of the public works at this place.

15. When I solicited the establishment of a Brigade Quartermaster to this detachment, I stated expressly to the then Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley, that it was required more as a personal staff than for detachment duties, as I had frequent occasion to send out to meet Sikh Surdars and could not intrude on the important avocations of the Brigade-Major on such occasions, nor could my rank admit of my asking for an Aide-de-camp.

16. I could not therefore see without regret that to Lieutenant Brookes' appointment of Quartermaster of the 23rd Regiment was attached the dissolution of the Quartermaster of Brigade, although the objects for which I solicited its establishment have rather increased than lessened by our stay here and the greater confidence and better acquaintance of the different Surdars.

17. In all visits of ceremony they are particularly desirous of the attendance of an officer, and to be met by an Assistant not in the service would lessen every other attention, however marked or flattering. In numerous other instances, and particularly in my weak state of health, an officer who without the name would act as an Aide-de-camp would be very serviceable, and I should feel much pleasure if the office could be restored, or if Captain Birch, under any denomination the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council might think proper, could be allowed to perform those duties which formerly belonged to Lieutenant Brooke.

P.S.—It may be proper to mention that during our march through the valley of Punjor we encamped daily within a very few miles of some one or other of the hill forts garrisoned by the Gorkhas, but did not see a single man belonging to their army, nor were we in any shape the least molested.

97. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to the Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated the 7th of May 1810.*

Measures for the apprehension of Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

I WAS duly honored by the receipt of your dispatch of the 16th January, communicating to me the orders of the Honorable the Vice-President in Council on the subject of the outrage committed on Lieutenant White and his party in December last while prosecuting his survey of the Sikh country, as referred to in my letter of the 28th of that month to your address.

2. As the report of Phola Sing, the head of the gang of banditti by whom that outrage was committed, having found refuge in Runjeet Sing's camp, proved to be unfounded, I, of course, forbore making an application on the subject to that Chief.

3. But, as I shortly after received certain intelligence that Phola Sing had returned to Dumdumah, his usual place of residence, which belongs to Rajah Sahib Sing of Putteealah, and is about 80 miles to the south-westward of that town, I thought it incumbent on me to make an immediate and urgent application to the four principal Sikh Chiefs who are under the protection of the British Government, *viz.*, the Rajah of Putteealah, Rajah Jeswunt Sing, Chief of Nabah, Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Laul Sing, requiring them to exert themselves jointly to the very utmost in endeavouring to effect the seizure of that atrocious murderer, in order that he might suffer the punishment due to his crimes. This they all promised to do, and troops were accordingly embodied and detached to Dumdumah for that purpose.

4. I confess, however, that, notwithstanding the seeming alacrity with which those Chiefs entered into my views, there were certain circumstances connected with the predicament of Phola Sing which prevented me from entertaining sanguine hopes of success. He himself is an Ukaulee, or Sikh priest, and it is well known that people of that description, whatever their moral character may be, are held in veneration,

Measures for the apprehension of Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

and that their persons are considered as sacred and inviolable. The town of Dumdumah, moreover, whither he had retreated, is regarded by the Sikhs as holy in consequence of its having been the residence of Gobind Sing, Gooroo, a priest whose memory they hold in great sanctity. But, notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, I considered it as my duty to endeavour to rouse the Chiefs into exertion by representing to them the enormity of the crime of Phola Sing, and how much it was the interest of every regular government, or ruler of a country, to bring so atrocious a malefactor to condign punishment. I also entertained a hope that the direct and immediate interest which the Rajah of Putteealah had in reducing to obedience the refractory town and fort of Dumdumah, which had long been in a state of rebellion, would have operated as a sort of salutary counteraction to the reluctance which, as a Sikh, he might feel to order a priest to be attacked and a temple to be besieged. The event was such as was to be expected. The place was taken, but the murderer, being a priest, was suffered to escape. As I had every reason to believe, from the accounts transmitted to me relative to the occurrence, that Phola Sing's escape was the consequence of a bribe given by him to the Commanding Officer of the troops, I thought it necessary to state to Rajah Sahib Sing the suspicion which I entertained and the grounds thereof. It was, of course, denied, and, as it could not be proved, the only satisfaction which I obtained was the temporary disgrace of the Commanding Officer.

5. On quitting Dumdumah, Phola Sing fled to Umritser, where he still continues, and where, from the sanctity of the place and from he himself being an Ukaulee, there is little prospect of Runjeet Sing's being induced to consent to the seizure of his person. His conduct, in the case of a deserter from the British troops composing the escort of Mr. Metcalfe, during the mission of that gentleman in the year 1808, furnishes us with the means of forming a judgment as to the line of conduct which he would pursue upon the present occasion.

Measures for the apprehension of Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

6. If an application were made to Runjeet Sing for the surrender of Phola Sing, and if it proved ineffectual, that is, if, while the former returned a civil answer, the latter were openly permitted to reside unmolested at Umritser, it strikes me that it would give rise to one of two consequences. Either the dignity of the British Government would be committed by having made a fruitless application for the surrender of an atrocious malefactor, or that dignity must be asserted by means to which, under existing circumstances, it might not be altogether convenient to resort. Induced by these considerations, I shall postpone making any application to Runjeet Sing until I be honored with the instructions of Government in reply to this dispatch. By not appearing to be acquainted with the actual place of residence of Phola Sing, and by seeming to disbelieve the current reports on the subject, our not making to Runjeet Sing an application similar to that which was made to Sahib Sing of Putteealah may be accounted for without injury to the dignity or spirit of Government. Postponement does not necessarily imply relinquishment.

7. Meantime, if all that was wished has not been accomplished, much of what was desirable has been effected. Phola Sing, though an Ukaulee, has been expelled from Dumdumah notwithstanding the sanctity of that place, and, as it must be notorious that that murderer's having been reduced to the degrading situation of a fugitive is solely and entirely in consequence of the outrage committed by him upon Lieutenant White and his party, it may be presumed that the example will serve as a warning to others, and shew that such conduct will not be passed over with impunity by the British Government. That which further remains to be done can be accomplished at a future period when the conjuncture may be more favorable. Phola Sing is certainly deserving of the severest of punishments. Not content with being both the instigator and the leader of the murderous attack made upon the British mission when encamped at Umritser, in the month of February in 1809, his late attempt to cut off Lieutenant White's party seems to evince that his sanguinary

Measures for the apprehension of Phola Singh, the instigator of the attack on Lieutenant White, Surveyor.

malignity is as rooted and inveterate as it is ferocious. It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when circumstances will no longer admit of so atrocious and blood-thirsty a criminal eluding the pursuit of justice.

8. In further explanation of the subject, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence which has taken place between Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony and me respecting the probable result of our demanding the surrender of Phola Sing.

List of the correspondence referred to in the concluding paragraph of this dispatch.

No. 1.—Extract from a letter of the 20th February from Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to the Resident at Delhi.

No. 2.—Letter from the Resident in reply under date the 26th April.

No. 3.—Answer of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, under date the 30th April.

98. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Political Department,—No. 61, dated the 8th of May 1810.*

Action taken by Ranjit Singh against Phola Singh, Akali.

FOR some days past my public and my private news-writers have concurred in representing that Runjeet Sing had sent most particular orders for the expulsion of Phola Sing, the Ukaulee. These reports have been confirmed by other letters, and that the delay which has occurred in their execution has been owing to the reluctance of his people at Umritser to carry them into effect.

2. The enclosed extract[1] mentions that he has insisted on their immediate obedience, and has even threatened to order a Mussalman to enforce his orders, and that the Ukaulees themselves and other priests of the temple have insisted on Phola Sing's quitting the place.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab records.

3. As Runjeet has in no wise been requested to act in this manner, and has no further information officially of the subject than what he has derived from my letter to the Dewan's son informing him that the Chiefs of Putteealah, &c., were sending a force to seize a public robber and recommending him to keep his force at Kot Kapoora and in that quarter within their respective *thanas*, that the Chiefs of this side might not make a pretext of any obstruction, I consider it a duty to represent this mark of attention to the wishes of the British Government.

Action taken by Ranjit Singh against Phola Singh, Akali.

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99. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to C. LUSHINGTON, Esquire, Acting Secretary to the Government in the Political Department, Fort William,—dated the 11th of May 1310.*

ON the 7th instant I had the honor to acquaint you that Phola Sing, the Ukaulee or Sikh priest who was the ringleader of the gang of banditti who attacked Lieutenant White's party, had fled from Dumdumah to Umritser. I at the same time submitted my reasons for not having made an application to Runjeet Sing for his surrender.

2. In continuation of the subject, I now have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of Government, that Runjeet Sing, on hearing that Phola Sing had taken refuge in the temple at Umritser, and being apprehensive that his being allowed to remain there would give offence to the British Government, desired Futteh Sing of Allooa to remove him from thence, but at the same time to give him 100 rupees for his support. On receiving a message to this effect from Futteh Sing, Phola Sing sent a harsh and indignant reply, declaring that Umritser had been the place of residence of Gooroo Baba Nanak; that he, Phola Sing, was one of that Gooroo's priests and would not leave the place, adding that, in the event of an attempt being made to expel him by force, he and forty or fifty Ukaulees who were devoted to him would

resist to the last, being determined rather to perish than to yield. It now remains to be seen whether Runjeet Sing will support his first order against this desperate murderer.

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100. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political Department, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 29th of May 1810.*

Action taken by Ranjit Singh against Phola Singh, Akali.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 61, dated the 8th instant,[1] reporting the measures adopted by Rajah Runjeet Sing for the expulsion of Phola Sing from Umritser.

2. The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council considers the Rajah's adoption of these measures, without any application on our part, as a testimony of his disposition to cultivate the good-will of the British Government. His Lordship in Council deems it proper that you should convey to the Rajah an expression of the sense which Government entertains of his just and amicable conduct on this occasion, intimating to him that the perpetration of such acts of atrocity as those which Phola Sing has committed is unworthy of the favor and protection of any civilized Government.

Present of a carriage and pair for Raja Ranjit Singh.

3. In conveying this communication to Rajah Runjeet Sing you will further be pleased to signify to him that the British Government has nothing more at heart than to maintain the existing system of harmony and confidence with that Chief by the interchange of good offices, and that in testimony of these sentiments and with a view to mark the satisfaction of the Governor-General at the personal intercourse of cordiality which has for some time past appeared to subsist between you and the Rajah, the Governor-General is desirous of affording some outward token of his regard, and understanding that a present of a carriage and a pair of horses would be particularly gratifying to the Rajah, His Lordship has directed an equipage of that description to be provided for the purpose of being presented to the Rajah.

[1] 98 *supra*.

101. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. Lushington, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 63, dated the 18th of May 1810.*

Representation of Karam Parkash, the late Raja of Náhan.

For the information of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, I have the honor to transmit a copy and translation of a representation from Kurrum Purkas, the late Rajah of Nahan, together with a copy and translation of my reply.[1]

2. Kurrum Purkas, expelled from his country, now lives at a village in the district of Munny Majra, in a great degree, if not entirely, dependent on the bounty of Surdar Gopaul Sing.

3. The Surmoreah, of which Nahan is the capital, is a country of considerable extent, and was till lately governed by a race of Rajpoot Princes who have for centuries been the rulers of the hills, divided into a number of petty independent States.

4. Rajah Kirut Singh died about A. D. 1775 and left four sons, of whom Kurrum Purkas was the third, and succeeded regularly to the sovereignty on the death of his two elder brothers Juggut Purkas and Dhurrum Purkas, who died without male issue. On his accession to the *musnud* about 14 years ago, he found the actual authority in the hands of two men who had been the principal officers and advisers of his brother Dhurrum Purkas, and such was the influence and power they had attained that for some time they conducted the whole affairs of the Government under the sanction of his name, but often without even a reference to his will. To emancipate himself from this thraldom, Kurrum Purkas nominated a chief manager of his own choice, assumed the authority himself, and put to death the former ministers of his brother. This act of tyranny excited general apprehension and led to a confederacy which terminated in the expulsion of Kurrum Purkas and the accession of his younger brother,

[1] Not printed.

Representation of Karam Parkash, the late Raja of Náhan.

Rutton Purkas, but by the aid of the Rajah of Putteealah and a party in his own country he was soon after reinstated and remained in quiet possession for some years, until about the year 1803-04 the Gorkhas having attacked and levied contributions from the Gudwal or Serinagar Rajah meditated a similar attack upon the Surmoreah country, but were for that time prevented by a pecuniary douceur and by certain stipulations which were made through the medium of Maha Chund, Kullooreah. This treaty, however necessary, was highly offensive to Sunsar Chand, Kangra, and other Hill Rajahs, to whose possessions it opened an easy passage, and they immediately entered into a league which again expelled Kurrum Purkas from his country and placed Rutton Purkas a second time on the *musnud*. The Gorkhas instantly embraced the cause of the man whose treaty with them was assigned as the motive of his expulsion, and he was soon reinstated in authority, but on terms which bound him to supply them with provisions and to facilitate their progress in their meditated invasion of Kangra and the hill territories beyond the Surmoreah. How far he complied to the extent of his ability with all these stipulations I am not informed, but it seems probable that he evaded them, as it is known that whilst they were prosecuting the siege of Kangra he afforded very trifling pecuniary aid and peremptorily declined sending any troops to their assistance when earnestly solicited to that effect on the late approach of Runjeet Sing to the siege of that fortress.

5. When Ummer Sing was compelled by Runjeet to recross the Sutledge, he determined to punish this repeated violation of promises, and the murder of a Brahman who was conveying a letter from him to the Rajah confirmed his intention.

6. Of this latter act the Rajah declares himself innocent, and it seems more than probable that this declaration is founded on truth, but it is not likely that the Gorkha Commander would have required any additional pretext to

make use of the power he possessed of seizing the whole country and converting it to his own use.

Representation of Karam Parkash, the late Raja of Náhan.

7. In the habits of encroaching upon the possessions of each other, there existed a jealousy and enmity amongst all the Hill Chiefs too powerful to expect a common union of interests for common defence, and the consequence has been that they have fallen singly and almost unopposing to a body of ill-armed and undisciplined barbarians, who affect a wretched imitation of the dress, accoutrements and constitution of a British native battalion, and who might have been successfully resisted in such a country by less than one-third of their numbers. Without a single cannon, they have now taken I believe every hill fort from the Ganges to the Sutledge, and propose, or perhaps pretend, when fresh reinforcements arrive a second attempt on Kot Kangra.

8. I may perhaps be condemned for intruding this prolix and tedious detail on the attention of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, but independent of my conceiving it a particular point of duty to communicate whatever information I can obtain, that wears an appearance of authenticity, of the Chiefs or States in my vicinity, I have in this instance another object, which I shall take the liberty to offer to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Vice-President without affecting to know the relations between the British Government and the Gorkha State, but on a presumption that they may be of a nature to warrant a proposition which has a tendency to prevent their collision.

9. In my dispatch No. 59 I had the honor to transmit a description taken from information of the valley of Kaardeh lying between the Jumna and Sutledge and recently seized by the Gorkhas from the Rajah of Nahan. From the end of the Kaardeh, and running the whole way from the Jumna to the Ganges and between the two first ranges of hills, is the valley of the Dehrah Doon, which has been seized in the same manner from the Gudwal or Serinagar Rajah. I am not aware that the private character of either of these Princes

Seizure of Dehra Dun by the Gurkhas.

entitles them to any commiseration, and, as they have neither solicited the bounty nor requested the intercession of the British Government, it may appear extraordinary to suggest a request to the Gorkha Chief to relinquish his conquests and to bestow those valleys on the Rajahs of Nahan and Serinagar respectively, their former possessors.

Conquests of Gurkhas in the hills.

10. Yet if such a request were practicable and an acquiescence certain, would not such an exertion in favor of long established Rajpoot Princes have a good effect throughout Hindoostan, whilst it places between us and a host of barbarians a short but prominent line of demarcation, which, if time does not prove absolutely necessary, can be of no immediate disadvantage.

11. The range of hills between the Sutledge and Jumna, previous to the invasion of the Gorkhas, was held first by the Rajahs of Nahun or Surmoreah, who are of the tribe of Rajpoots, and came originally from Jesselmere; they have held this Raj near a thousand years.

12. The *Barra Tokree* or 12 portions are—Tuxall or Bughaut, Mullogh, Kothaur, Bhaghul, Keounthul, Bhujee, Dhamy, Bhulsun, Koomarsain, Punjootah, Joobul, and Gurhjhurry, which bounded the Surmoreah to the north and west, and were of different extent and value, none more than a lac or less than 12,000. Of all these Rajpoots, Muhinder Sing of Tuxall or Bughaut, who married his daughter to Ummer Sing Thappa, is the only one who has preserved even a remnant of power or property. North-west of Tuxall was the country of the Nalagurh Rajah, Ramsurn, descended from a tribe of Rajpoots originally from Chundail, who have been in possession about 600 years until lately expelled by the Gorkhas from the hills, and now at Plasseea in the valley of Punjor. Maha Chund of Billaspoor, also a Rajpoot of Chundail, has possessions on both sides of the Jumna, and has hitherto preserved his country, but by what means I am not sufficiently informed to detail.

102. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 29th of May 1810.*

Limitation of encroachments of the Gurkhas.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 59, dated the 3rd instant, [1] reporting the result of your personal investigation of the local situation of the valley of Punjor.

2. The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council applauds the industry and accuracy of your investigation, the result of which, combined with the observations contained in your dispatch, demonstrate to the satisfaction of His Lordship in Council that the valley in question is comprehended within those lands which, according to the principle prescribed by the instructions of Government of the 23rd of January, must be protected from the encroachments of the Goorkhas, and you will accordingly consider those instructions to be applicable to the valley of Punjor.

3. The orders of Government on the subject of your application in favor of Captain Birch will be hereafter communicated to you.

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103. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 5th of June 1810.*

Appointment of Captain Birch as Political Assistant to Colonel Ochterlony.

IN my letter to you of the 29th ultimo you were informed that the orders of Government on the subject of your application in favor of Captain Birch would be hereafter communicated to you.

2. I am now directed to convey to you the authority of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council for the employment of the services of Captain Birch in the capacity of Political Assistant with a salary of two hundred rupees per mensem to commence from the 1st of this month.

[1] 96 *supra*.

104. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 9th of June 1810.*

Representation of the late Raja of Náhan.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 63, dated the 18th ultimo,[1] enclosing copies of a representation from Kurrum Purkas, the late Rajah of Nahan, and of your reply, describing the revolutions in the principality of Surmoreah and the geograghy of the territories between the Ganges and the Sutledge to the northward, and suggesting to the consideration of the Governor-General in Council an application to the Government of Nipaul for the relinquishment of its conquests in that quarter, and the restoration of the valleys of Kaardeh and the Dehrah Doon to the Rajahs of Nahan and Serinagur.

2. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves the tenor of your reply to the application of the late Rajah of Nahan, and considers the information which you have communicated to be interesting and useful.

3. The Governor-General in Council applauds that solicitude for the public interest which has led you to suggest an application to the Government of Nipaul for the relinquishment of its conquests, and concurs in opinion with you regarding the advantages to be expected from the restoration of the conquered territories to their original possessors. At the same time, as the condition of the State of Nipaul relatively to the British Power is not such as to warrant an expectation of the Rajah's compliance with the proposed application, to prefer, without being prepared to enforce, such a demand would be equally useless and discreditable; and, although both policy and justice support the resolution of resisting the progress of the Nepaulese arms beyond the limit described by the instructions of Government of the 23rd of January, our right to exact the restitution of their actual conquests may be doubted, and the expediency of engaging in hostilities

[1] 101 *supra.*

with the State of Nipaul for the attainment of that object is more than questionable.

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105. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, Secret and Separate Department, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated 9th October 1810.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 18th of *Shaaban*[1] on the subject of the proposition, which you had privately received through Ranee Ram Koor, for the support of the British Power to a combination of the subordinate Chiefs of the Punjaub against Rajah Runjeet Sing. Combination of subordinate Chiefs against Ranjit Singh.

2. Under present circumstances, the only point for consideration is the terms in which the proposition should be rejected, since, whatever may be the real disposition of the Rajah towards the British Government, he cannot be charged with any acts that can be considered as a justifiable ground of war.

3. The answer therefore which, in the opinion of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, should be returned to this proposition is to the following effect: That a solemn treaty of friendship exists between the British Government and Rajah Runjeet Sing; that the principles of public faith which invariably influence the conduct of the British Government can never sanction a departure from the obligations of that treaty so long as the Rajah shall continue to adhere to them; that the British Government has no desire to extend its dominion or its controul, and can never be induced to take up arms but to repel hostility or aggression against itself or against those whom by treaty it is required to defend; that the British Government is desirous of maintaining the relation of amity with Rajah Runjeet Sing; that it has no cause at present to charge the Rajah with any measures or proceedings of a hostile or aggressive

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Combination of subordinate Chiefs against Ranjit Singh.

nature, and would not therefore be justified in prosecuting designs inimical to that Chief either by attacking his possessions or by interfering in dissensions between the Rajah and his subjects.

4. It may further be proper to intimate to the widow of Bhungail Sing that she cannot be permitted to take advantage of the protection which she receives from the British Government to pursue schemes directed to the subversion of the power of Runjeet Sing.

5. You will accordingly be pleased to convey a reply to the proposition which you have received to the effect above described.

6. The Governor-General in Council deems it probable that you have acquainted the Resident at Delhi with the nature of the proposition which you have received. But, as you may possibly have conceived that you were not authorized to make known a communication of so very delicate and secret a nature, to any public officer, myself excepted, and as his Lordship in Council deems it proper that the Resident at Delhi should be informed of this overture and of the reply directed to be returned to it, copies of your dispatch and of this letter will be transmitted confidentially to Mr. Seton.

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106. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 92, dated the 18th of December 1810.*

Arrival of Shahzada Yunas, son of Shah Zaman, of Kábul, at Ludhiána.

IN my hurried private letter of yesterday I had the honor to inform you that a messenger from the Shahzada Yunas had come in to inform me that he had crossed the Sutledge, and that I should proceed immediately to meet him.

2. I have now the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that I found the Prince waiting my arrival near a village

between this post and the Philour Ghaut, who on my approach sent one of his attendants a short distance to meet me.

Arrival of Shahzada Yunas, son of Shah Zaman, of Kábul, at Ludhiána.

3. I then dismounted, and, according to the customs observed at Dehli, advanced with the usual ceremonies and presented a *nuzzer* of five gold *mohurs*, which was all I could collect in my hurry from the town bankers.

4. When my name was announced, he in Persian bade me welcome, and I desired my Moonshy to express my satisfaction at his safe arrival, and, as he must be much fatigued after so long a march, requested he would not remain longer in such a place, but immediately mount an elephant in readiness, and I would have the honor to escort him to tents which had been pitched for his reception.

5. He complied without hesitation, and with some compliments on my attention would have honored me with the seat in the *Khawas*, which I declined on the pretext that being in a European dress my clothes were not sufficiently loose to avail myself of his condescension.

6. On the road to Loodeana I desired his principal attendant, a son of Ubdoolla Khan, a former Hakim of Cashmere, to say to him that the place did not admit of all the attention due to his rank, and that a soldier situated as I was could not command luxuries, but what I had he might command, and were sincerely and heartily at his disposal.

7. He directed the attendant to say that he was no stranger to the British character for hospitality; that he now considered himself at home, and, being a soldier himself, he neither required nor expected any particular superfluities.

8. He has with him only nine attendants very badly mounted, and their general appearance indicates distress and poverty as well as fatigue.

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9. They inform me that they avoided Lahore and travelled in thirteen days from Rawelpindy.

10. I desired my Moonshy to wait upon the Prince this morning and apologize for the liberty I took in observing that the manner in which it was necessary for him to travel must have subjected him to great inconvenience in point of clothes, &c., and that I should have much pleasure in furnishing his wardrobe with such articles as the merchants here could afford, until he could be better and more amply supplied by the Resident at Dehli.

11. He has just sent me word that he shall avail himself of the offer for a few articles for himself, and a small supply for his retinue, who he says require it more than himself; and I am in hopes that this short detention, apparently for his own comfort, will enable me, without seeming to wish delay, to receive the instructions of the Resident of Dehli.

12. Should that officer deem it expedient that he should proceed with the attention suited to his rank, I propose to send with him my Assistant, Captain Birch, a small party of Cavalry and a company of Infantry under Lieutenant Maunsell of the 23rd Regiment, whose knowledge of the Persian language will render him acceptable to the Prince, and induces my particular selection of this officer. In the meantime I shall hint to His Highness that, if he pleases to confide to me the principal objects of his visit or communicate them by letter to the Resident of Dehli, it may be the means of obtaining an earlier knowledge of the sentiments of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, which to him may be particularly desirable under present circumstances.

13. It will, in short, be my endeavor to make his detention at this post appear to proceed only from respect and a proper attention to his convenience and comfort. I shall have the honor of reporting my further proceedings as circumstances may render necessary.

107. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhianeh,—Demi-official dated the 20th of December 1810.*

I have this day received yours of the 17th by express, and regret in the extreme that Yunas should have crossed the Sutledge. Our Government has always been most anxious to prevent anything of the kind from taking place, as you will observe from the accompanying copy of a letter which I addressed to Edmonstone some time ago on the subject of Shuja-ool-Moolk proceeding in person or by Vackeel into Hindoostan, and of his reply. I had not, at the time of my writing my *dissuasive* letter to Moolla Jafer, any instructions for my guidance relative to such a proposition. But the extreme embarrassment which, if carried into effect, it would occasion struck me so forcibly that I did not hesitate a moment as to the part which it became me to act; and you will observe from the reply that Government approved of the line which I adopted, and strongly enjoined me to adhere to it.

Arrival of Shahzada Yunas, son of Shah Zaman, of Kábul, at Ludhiána.

Some time since, I received from this very Prince a *shookah* expressing a desire to proceed to the southward. To this *shookah* I replied in a manner strongly calculated to divert the Prince from his purpose. The reply was dispatched by a *harkarah*, and I conclude it must have reached Prince Yunas ere now. For fear, however, of accidents, I enclose a duplicate of it, which I request you will present to the unfortunate wanderer, as it may do the work of a pioneer and facilitate your dissuasive efforts. It forcibly strikes me that the circumstance of his coming *disguised* must come in aid of your task, since it will be easy for you to make him sensible that, while he remains *incog.*, your paying him the honors due to his birth and rank would be altogether preposterous. You will perhaps say it is hard to convince a man against his wishes, and so it is my friend; but in our situation we must expect to be occasionally annoyed by the unpleasing task. On the present occasion I recommend to you to move heaven and

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earth to divert the Prince from his purpose, but to do it with the utmost gentleness, though without weakening the force of your argument, which I think admits of being put very strongly. Should the Prince, however, still continue unconvinced and persist in his plan of proceeding to the southward, you might, I think, fairly state to him that, conformably to the established usages of our Government, the executive officers acting under its authority have not the *power* to pay princely honors to any but to those whose rank is recognized by the Governor-General, and, consequently, that his persisting in his design would only lead to his own *soobkee.* In support, or strong support, of this argument you can quote the predicament of two of the Princes of Caubul who came to Delhi two years ago, *viz.*, Kohun Dil and Tamas. They remained here some time in a state which must have been irksome to their feelings. With me they had no direct intercourse, although I sent complimentary and sympathyzing messages to them through the medium of my Moonshee, which they acknowledged by handsome messages and assurances. The history of the fruitless endeavours of these Princes to derive any benefit from their journey to Dehli might, I think, be dwelt upon by you in support of your attempts to induce Yunas to give up his idea and to return to his father. Above all, hold out no shadow of a hope that the British Government will settle a pecuniary allowance upon him, because such a hope, held out by you, would not only confirm him in his purpose, but might bring down others of the Princes, and even Shuja-ool-Moolk himself, to our territories, which would be a most distressing and annoying circumstance.

Such, my dear Ochterlony, is the line of conduct which I recommend to you to adopt. *Suavissimus in modo* but *fortissimus in re.*

Adieu, my dear friend! Success attend your endeavours!

P. S.—As he came disguised, could you not have contrived to avoid meeting him in *person*? It strikes me that

the circumstance of his being *incog.* lessened the necessity of your going out.

P. P. S.—I enclose two *urzees*, which you will have the kindness to deliver or send to Prince Yunas. One of them is a duplicate of one I wrote to him on the 16th instant, and the other is another to the same effect dated this day.

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108. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 20th of December 1810.*

I HAVE the honor to transmit accompanying a *shooqua* to your address delivered to me this morning by the Shahzada Yunas. **Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.**

It is unnecessary to observe that my object in suggesting this letter is to prolong the detention of the royal visitor as long as possible, under an idea that his intention to visit you at Dehli may be productive of expense, embarrassment and inconvenience, which it would be the wish of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to prevent if possible, and your reply may now recommend his stay here, until orders can be received from His Lordship, on any plea you may judge proper.

I availed myself of some articles in his list of necessaries unknown here to send him five hundred rupees, requesting he would direct his attendants to expend it in such articles as were most requisite and procurable here; and I yesterday waited on him and presented a silver *hookah* with all its necessary accompaniments, and wished to have sent him a daily sum to supply his table, but, as it was intimated to me that he was entirely destitute of domestic attendants, and would wish to be supplied as at present, I have directed the necessary provisions for himself, attendants and cattle to be sent daily, and hope the whole will not exceed fifteen rupees per day.

Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.

I do not know whether I should apologise for the economy or the liberality of this arrangement, but I have acted to the best of my judgment, and shall be most anxious to receive your approbation of my proceedings.

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109. *Extract paragraphs 8 to 12 of a letter No. 93, dated the 21st December 1810, from Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government.*

[NOTE.—The first seven paragraphs relate to subjects the papers connected with which have not been printed.]

8. I do myself the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a letter addressed yesterday to the Resident of Dehli respecting the Shahzada Yunas, a subject on which I most anxiously wait the sentiments of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, as an event so entirely unexpected has thrown me completely on the exercise of my own judgment, and whilst I have apprehended that neither the motive nor the presence of the visitor would be desirable, I have thought it inconsistent with the dignity of the Government and unworthy the British character to withhold the requisite duties of attention and hospitality.

9. I hourly expect instructions from Mr. Seton, which will at least relieve me from acting on my own discretion, but it may accelerate the receipt of precise and definite instructions to that gentleman to mention that I consider it very probable the object of the Prince will be found to extend beyond the mere solicitation of military aid, and is possibly directed in the event of a refusal to demand an asylum and provision in the British territory for both Shah Shujah and his father, with their respective *zenanas*.

10. Although this is on my part entirely conjectural, I shall assume it is a certainty, and that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General may deem it inexpedient or inhumane to refuse this refuge to the unfortunate Princes, in which case

it would doubtless be an object to afford it in the manner least expensive and embarrassing, and Dehli of all other places may be thought most improper as holding out means of comparison between their own state and that of Ukber Shah in every way humiliating.

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11. I would therefore most humbly propose that this post should be selected, and the fort appropriated for their residence, in which at no very great expense additional buildings could be constructed sufficient for all the family and retinue, which personages under such circumstances ought in reason to require, whilst the general cheapness of grain and other articles of provision would enable them to make the most of any pension which His Lordship might think proper to allot for their subsistence.

12. Should this suggestion be found necessary and approved, I beg leave to renew my offers of relinquishing the buildings constructed in the fort for my own accommodation, plans of which were formerly submitted through the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. Lushington.

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110. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhianeh,—dated the 22nd of December 1810.*

ON the 20th instant I had the honor to acknowledge, in a private letter, the receipt of your private communication of the 17th on the subject of the arrival at Ludhianeh of Prince Yunas, son of Zaman Shah, and, in conformity to your desire, to submit such suggestions as were prompted by a consideration of the subject.

2. By this day's dawk I receive under a flying seal, as usual, your dispatch No. 92,[1] to the Chief Secretary, communicating the particulars of your meeting with that unfortunate Prince.

[1] 106 *supra.*

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3. With reference to that dispatch in general and more especially to the 11th paragraph, I think it my duty to communicate to you such reflections as the subject has suggested; for, although they will, in fact, be little more than a repetition of the contents of my private letter of the 20th instant to your address, it may now be proper to throw them into a more regular and methodized form.

4. It has ever been the earnest desire of the British Government to prevent any of the Princes of Caubul from seeking an asylum in our territories, and accordingly, conformably to that desire, it has been considered as necessary by the officers of Government, in their correspondence with all the relatives, ministers, and adherents of Shooja-ool-Moolk, not only studiously and guardedly to avoid everything that might be interpreted into *invitation* or *encouragement* to take that step, but even to *deprecate* its adoption, and by every means to seek to divert from the idea such persons as occasionally manifested an inclination to proceed to Hindoostan, as is clearly evinced in the Chief Secretary's dispatch of the 10th November to my address, a copy of which accompanied my private letter to you of the 20th instant. It was under this impression that I thought it my duty, in that letter, to submit it as my opinion that it would be expedient to do everything in your power, consistently with what was due to the feelings of the Prince, not only to induce him to relinquish all idea of proceeding to the southward, but also to engage him to return to his father. As nothing would be so likely to give effect to this as the making the Prince himself sensible that his remaining at Ludhianeh, or, what is still *more* to be deprecated, his proceeding to Dehli, would not conduce to the success of his views, it appears to me that it would be advisable to explain to him at once, in a clear but respectful manner, that the system of our Government did not admit of our receiving, with the ceremonial and the respectful etiquettes due to Princes, any persons of Royal blood who might visit our dominions, unless their rank were first acknowledged

by the Governor-General; and I think you might add, as if from yourself, that there was little prospect of Prince Yunas's stay in our dominions being the means of his obtaining a pension from the British Government. An explicit, but respectful, declaration to this effect appears to me to be the more necessary from its being evident that the *only* motive of his crossing the Sutledge is to obtain an allowance. Nor is it less evident that, were an allowance bestowed upon *him*, it would lead to numberless solicitations of a similar nature, and would probably be the means of even inducing the unfortunate Shuja-ool-Moolk to throw himself on the protection of the British Government,—an event which would be embarrassing in the extreme. As a further expedient to induce the Prince to return, it might, I think, be represented to him that his quitting the vicinity of the Indus might prove detrimental to the affairs of Shooja-ool-Moolk, and raise a sensation of despondency in the minds of the adherents of that Prince.

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5. Should your endeavours to induce the Prince to recross the Sutledge be counteracted by his pecuniary distresses, it strikes me that Government would approve of your furnishing him with a sum sufficient to enable him to return, if not with magnificence, yet with comfort, to his father at Rawulpindee. But it might not be advisable to make it so considerable as to encourage a repetition of similar visits.

6. It is possible that your endeavours to induce him to return may be ineffectual. But at all events, I trust, you will succeed in dissuading him from proceeding to Dehli, which, I conclude, he had in contemplation in crossing the Sutledge. His repairing to Dehli would be, in the highest degree, embarrassing both to the King and to myself. Should every other means of diverting him from that step prove ineffectual, I would recommend your making him acquainted with the barren result of the journey to Dehli in the year 1808 made by his two relatives Prince Kohun Dil, the son, and Prince Tamas, the grandson, of Timoor Shah. These two Princes, after remaining here a short time,

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returned to their own country. I sent them small sums of money as *zeafuts*, but I had no meeting with them, nor were they presented to the King.

7. Such are the suggestions which have been produced by an attentive consideration of the subject of your present dispatch to the Chief Secretary. It, no doubt, would be more pleasing to our feelings, as individuals, to assure the unfortunate stranger, at once, of a liberal provision. But the inconsistency of such a step with the instructions of Government and a sense of the extreme embarrassment to which it would give rise appear to me to amount to a complete prohibition of every measure of that nature.

8. In my private letter to you of the 20th instant I enclosed duplicates and copies of two which I had addressed to Prince Yunas. I now enclose another letter to him, the object of which, like that of the other two, is to induce him to return to his father. A copy of it is transmitted, enclosed, for your information.

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111. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhianeh,—dated the 24th of December 1810.*

I AM this day honored by the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant,[1] communicating the particulars of the line of conduct which you had pursued towards the Shahzada Yunas, and enclosing a *shookah* from that Prince to my address soliciting the aid of the British Government to restore the fallen fortunes of the unfortunate Shuja-ool-Moolk.

2. A Prince in distress has such powerful claims to sympathy that to decline compliance with a solicitation interesting in the highest degree to his feelings must give a sensation of a most distressing nature to every liberal,

[1] 108 *supra.*

generous mind. It is, therefore, to be lamented that the present solicitation relates to a case which, however distressing, is by no means *dubious*, the line of conduct which it is our duty to pursue being so decidedly against compliance that we have not the option of holding out to the Prince even the shadow of hope that the British Government will interfere in favor of Shuja-ool-Moolk. **Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.**

3. I have accordingly acquainted Prince Yunas in reply that, though the Governor-General would sincerely sympathize with Shuja-ool-Moolk, yet as we were not called upon, by the provisions of any existing treaty, to take part in the civil commotions in Caubul (since the treaty concluded by Mr. Elphinstone related solely to the *foreign invasion* of that country from the westward), and as it was altogether inconsistent with the system of the British Government to interfere in dissensions prevailing in other States unless when called upon by treaty so to do, I apprehend His Lordship would find it difficult to comply with His Highness's desire. I added that his application should, however, be immediately made known to the Governor-General, and His Lordship's answer transmitted to His Highness with the utmost expedition. I also alluded to the contents of my former letters to him, and took occasion to re-urge, as the best advice I could give, my former recommendation to him to return to Rawulpindee.

4. Distressing to myself as this cold line of conduct is, I confess that the more I reflect the more I am convinced that, under present circumstances, to have held a different language to the Prince would have been to deceive him by giving rise to a hope that must have ended in disappointment and led to a mortification the bitterness of which would have been sharpened by the temporary indulgence of fallacious expectation.

5. My reply to the Prince, accompanied by a copy, is transmitted enclosed. Permit me to request that, in forwarding it to him, as well as in the course of any verbal

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discussions to which it may eventually give rise, you will support the grounds of its reasoning in the manner the most soothing to the feelings of the Prince.

6. In every point of view this line appears to me to be the most proper. It is consistent, because strictly conformable to our system. It is candid to the Prince, because it prevents him from being the dupe of false hopes. It is safe and convenient to ourselves, because it tends to avert the annoying embarrassment of seeing our frontier inundated by numbers of needy Princes, who would doubtless be attracted thither were even the shadow of relief held out to them. To assist them would probably be out of our power, and yet it would by no means be desirable to our Government to witness their unrelieved distress and hear their ineffectual solicitation. Under these circumstances, to divert them from proceeding towards this quarter is surely the most eligible plan.

7. Supposing it even possible, that to avoid the appearance of harshness or ungraciousness Government would be disposed to settle a pecuniary allowance on some of the Princes of Caubul, it nevertheless appears to me that we should adhere to the line which I now recommend. By avoiding to anticipate the bounty of Government, we shall virtually render it still more acceptable in the event of its being bestowed.

8. For the rest, I certainly think that Government will approve of the personal attention which your sympathy and hospitality have conferred upon the Prince, although, at the same time, it may be deemed desirable that everything of that kind should rather be considered as temporary than as permanent, since to persons in the predicament of the Prince of Caubul the hope of obtaining permanent establishments from the liberality of the British Government must prove such a source of irresistible attraction that numbers might be induced to cross the Sutledge and throw themselves upon its protection.

112. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 24th of December 1810.*

I had the honor to receive your private reply [1] to my letter of the 17th only last night at the same time with the common dawk, though superscribed "Express." Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.

2. My official reports to your address, as well as to the Chief Secretary of Government, will have evinced that I was fully sensible the visit of the Shahzada Yunas could not for many reasons be desirable, and the whole of my conduct towards him has been especially influenced by this conviction.

3. I cannot avoid, however, expressing my regret that my dispatch No. 90 should have remained unnoticed, as the communication which I made to the Chief Secretary was chiefly intended to procure the orders of Government in case of its actual occurrence; but what I regarded as only a possible circumstance it would appear you had strong reason to regard as a probable event, and your instructions would have relieved me from much apprehension and anxiety.

4. I shall now to the utmost of my power endeavor to conform to the advice with which you have favoured me; but in reply to your postscript, where you seem to think the circumstance of the Prince having come disguised lessened the necessity of my going out to meet him or paying him any attention, I beg leave on this observation to remark that I had not much time for reflection, but what I did do was not without motive or consideration, and my reasons for going out to meet him and for every attention I have shewn him had but one object from the beginning, which has been happily effected, *viz.*, detaining him in this remote corner and engaging him in a correspondence with you to afford you the means of discouraging his future progress in such manner and on such pretexts as you might judge most advisable.

[1] 107 *supra.*

Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.

5. It struck me instantly that this desirable object could only be effected by attentions on my part. Could I have sacrificed truth and my own conviction so far as to have made his disguise a pretext for doubt, and have refused to acknowledge him as Prince Yunas, the inevitable consequence must have been that he would have done as he had done for thirteen days before, have slept in a common serai and proceeded the next morning to his ultimate destination, Dehli.

6. I shall not fail, if necessary, to touch on the circumstance of the two Royal wanderers, but I humbly conceive a line of conduct highly proper and expedient in you as the immediate representative of Government at the Court of Ukber Shah would have been highly unbecoming in the Commander of a British frontier post, more particularly considering the difference of the two cases, which in the one I presume to have been fugitive solicitants and in the other I consider an accredited Ambassador, though from a fallen and unfortunate monarch.

7. I trust I am too well acquainted with my subordinate situation to have rendered your caution necessary respecting any pecuniary assistance. It is absolutely impossible that in my situation I should have encouraged a hope of this nature, though I conceived it to be my duty to state my conjectures on this subject to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, but this declaredly only with a view to accelerate instructions to you, and that you might without the embarrassment of rejecting or avoiding personal intercourse communicate by letter whatever orders His Lordship might deem expedient, should such a request be made.

8. If I have ventured to suppose that the British Government in the East as in the West might become the asylum of Kings, I trust it will not be supposed, by my suggesting the least expensive mode, that I could hint at a subject no less indelicate than improper to the Prince

himself, or that without due authority I could hold out a hope to him of such aid being granted, had he ever made it a subject of communication.

Treatment of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul.

9. Your reply to the *shooqua* I had the honor to transmit with my letter of the 19th instant, combined with such dissuasive arguments as I may now with propriety and confidence urge, will I doubt not induce the Prince to relinquish his design of visiting Dehli, and to return to share in the wretched fortunes of his father and the Shah Shuja; and it may not be improper to add that excepting in the accommodation afforded, and my own personal attentions, the Prince has not been received with such public honors or marks of respect as might have been paid, and even thought necessary, to Moola Jaffer had he arrived at this post for the same purpose.

10. I have the honor to transmit accompanying a *shooqua* from the Prince, this moment received.

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113. *From A. Seton, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhianeh,—dated the 29th of December 1810.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 24th instant,[1] which has reference to the suggestions which I took the liberty to submit, in my private letter of the 17th to your address, relative to the arrival at Ludhianeh of Prince Yunas, the son of Zaman Shah. I have also received the Prince's reply to my letters.

2. As it appears from that dispatch that my submitting to you my sentiments, by anticipation, as to the line of conduct which it might in my opinion be advisable to adopt in the event of any of the Princes of Caubool crossing the Sutledge, would have been desirable to you, it is on that account a source of regret to me that I did not take that precaution. The fact, however, is that, as it was well known to be the desire of the British Government that the

[1] 112 *supra*.

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Princes of Caubool should, if possible, be diverted from proceeding into our provinces, I naturally concluded that you would give them no encouragement, and I should almost have considered myself as acting intrusively if I had addressed you on the subject. Even as it is, you appear to me to have acted according to the spirit of the wishes of Government. The arrival of the Prince, though not altogether unexpected, as appears from your dispatch No. 90, was nevertheless sudden, and your having taken measures for preventing his suffering distress, while you forbore to encourage his remaining at Ludhianeh and evidently exerted yourself in endeavouring to postpone his proceeding to Dehli, cannot, I think, be disapproved of by Government.

3. Copies of your dispatch and of this my reply shall be transmitted to the Chief Secretary by this night's dawk for the information of Government.

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114. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 96, dated the 30th of December 1810.*

Departure of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul from Ludhiána.

IN my short letter of yesterday I had the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, that the Prince Yunas would in the course of a few hours recross the Sutledge on his return to his father.

2. I have now the honor to report the actual departure of the Shahzada, accompanied to the Sutledge by my Head Moonshy and to the Phillour Post by the Vakeel of Rajah Runjeet Singh, who I requested to proceed and desire the son of Mohkum Chund, at present in command, to give him safe convoy to Lahore.

3. I also wrote to Runjeet himself informing him that the Prince, having left his father in a moment of dissatisfaction, was now in progress on his return, and that it would contribute to his reputation to treat him with distinction.

4. That I might be sure the Prince continued his progress towards Rawulpindy, I directed two of my own Lascars to attend him to pitch his tents, with private orders to report progress occasionally. Departure of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul from Ludhiána.

5. I gave these instructions not from any doubt of the Prince himself, whose conduct throughout has been very proper and dignified, but for fear some of his attendants might sway his better judgment and urge him to proceed to the southward by another route; and this apprehension was excited by some of his few attendants having declared their determination not to return with him, but to seek service with Ameer Khan.

6. On the arrival of the first letter from Mr. Seton, which was only a copy of one sent in reply to a *shooqua* expressive of his intention to visit Hindoostan, and on the receipt of a second, written after my report of his arrival, the Prince evidently hoped that his own letter to Mr. Seton written on the 19th would produce a more favorable answer, and on the latter occasion I thought it my duty to repress his expectations by saying that the tenor of the *urzee* led me to a different conclusion, and that I was much afraid the expected answer would not be more favorable, but more explicit. He said he should at all events wait the reply, which I told him I thought was very proper, as it would enable him to recover from his fatigue if attended with no other benefit, and I trusted by that time he would have recovered sufficient strength to prosecute his journey by shorter stages and with more comfort than he had come.

7. This attention did not in itself create any delay of great importance, and was only a common duty of feeling and humanity, as he had been much indisposed and had been seized suddenly with a fainting fit, which induced me to wait upon him with Mr. Surgeon Robertson, who found it necessary to send him some medicine and recommended rest and quiet.

8. On the receipt of Mr. Seton's reply to his *shooqua* from this post, his countenance shewed strong marks of grief

Departure of Shahzada Yunas of Kábul from Ludhiána.

and disappointment, but he did not betray either by any expression, and after a little consideration said that, although it evidently could not be attended with any benefit, he still could wish, as he had come so far, to visit the Emperor Akbar Shah and to see Lucknow.

9. I availed myself on this observation of the communications of the Resident of Dehli, and respectfully urged such arguments and reasons as I thought most likely to dissuade him from his purpose, and took my leave when I had received his assurances that he would be entirely governed by my opinions and advice.

10. I have now only to express my earnest hope that the attentions paid to this Prince and the expenses exhibited in the accompanying bill will not be disapproved by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

11. I can assure you that I aimed as much as possible at economy, but my private feelings were not in unison with my public duty, and I am not without apprehensions that a selfish desire to smooth my own difficulties and effect his departure with as much satisfaction to himself as circumstances would admit may have led to a profusion beyond what His Lordship may deem expedient or proper, and in this case I throw myself once more upon that indulgence which I have often experienced.

12. In order to pay up and expedite the departure of the volunteers for foreign service, I have been compelled to draw for the amount expended at sight on the Resident of Dehli, which I trust will also be honored with His Lordship's approbation.

13. A letter received this day from Umritser mentions that *urzees* have been received by Shah Shujah from Ameer Khan and a Colonel Shah Mohummud Khan promising their assistance to reinstate him on his throne on condition of receiving a grant of the Bhawulpore territory.

115. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 19th of January 1811.*

Orders of Government in regard to the treatment of Shahzada Yunas.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches of the 18th[1] and 24th ultimo on the occasion of the arrival of Prince Yunas at Ludhiana. Your letter of the 21st ultimo, enclosing copies and translations of statements received by you from Bhye Lall Sing and the widow of the late Bhye Kurm Sing respecting the disputed property of the deceased, and a copy of your letter to Mr. Seton dated the 20th ultimo,[2] on the subject of Prince Yunas, has also been received.

2. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves your successful endeavours to prevent the Prince from prosecuting his journey to Delhi until you could receive the instructions of Mr. Seton for the regulation of your conduct towards the Prince.

3. Government having been apprized by your private communications of the return of the Prince to his own country, no instructions are now requisite for your guidance; but I am directed to observe that the attention and hospitality with which you treated the unfortunate Prince during his residence at the post under your command is considered by His Lordship in Council to have been highly creditable to your humanity and warranted by the circumstances in which you were placed, especially under your ignorance of the sentiments of Government relative to the mode of treating persons of the description of the Prince Yunas, and that the expense incurred by you on that occasion will be passed in your accounts.

4. The Governor-General in Council regrets extremely that the obligations of political necessity should supersede the dictates of compassion for the fate of the unfortunate

[1] 106 *supra.*
[2] 108 *supra.*

Orders of Government in regard to the treatment of Shahzada Yunas.

family of Shujah-ool-Moolk. The multiplied embarrassments, however, prospective as well as immediate, which the reception of Prince Yunas at Delhi or the encouragement of his views and expectations in any form would occasion, precluded any other course of proceeding than that which Mr. Seton adopted and recommended to you to observe according to the principle of the instructions which, with reference to similar cases, had been issued to him.

5. The Resident at Dehli having stated his intention to address Government on the subject of Bhye Lall Sing's claim to the inheritance of his late cousin Bhye Kurm Sing, the resolutions of the Governor-General in Council on that part of your dispatch of the 21st ultimo which relates to that question will be reserved until Mr. Seton's report shall have been received.

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116. *From A. SETON, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhianeh,—dated the 25th of February 1811.*

Present of a carriage and pair of horses for the Raja of Lahore.

THE Right Hon'ble the Governor-General having been pleased to present the Rajah of Lahore with a carriage and pair of horses, and the carriage having arrived at Dehli, I have the honor to inform you that the several packages have this day been dispatched from hence under the care of Moonshee Mohummud Ewuz, a respectable gentleman belonging to the establishment of the Persian Office, who is charged with the delivery of the present. He has been furnished from hence with money and the conveniences for marching, but should he on reaching Ludhianeh, or on his return from Lahore, require any further assistance, you are requested to advance such sums as you may deem necessary. You are requested also to furnish him with the necessary passes for expediting his journey on the other side of the Sutledge.

2. Enclosed is a list of the several packages and of the people who proceed with Moonshee Mohummud Ewuz.

3. The horses which ought to accompany the carriage having been purchased at Dehli are not as yet prepared; they will be sent hereafter when broken-in to harness.

Present of a carriage and pair of horses for the Raja of Lahore.

List of packages containing the carriage, harness, &c., for the Rajah of Lahore.

Body	1
Main part of carriage	1
Fore part of carriage	1
Four wheels	4
Pole	1
Splinter bars	1
Jack	1
Two boxes containing all the &c.	2
Packages	12

1 Moonshee—Mohummud Ewuz.
2 *Hircarrahs.*
1 Carpenter.
1 Smith.
2 *Nujeeb* Guards.

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117. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 97, dated the 1st of March 1811.*

The severe indisposition of Mrs. Ochterlony, the death of an infant son, and the alarming illness of a daughter have induced me, by the advice of the medical gentlemen of this station, to grant leave of absence to Mr. Ochterlony, my Assistant, for four months, which I trust the Right Honorable the Governor-General will have the goodness to approve and confirm.

Grant of leave to Mr. R. P. Ochterlony.

118. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 22nd of March 1811.*

Grant of leave to Mr. R. P. Ochterlony.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st current, stating the reasons which induced you to grant four months' leave of absence to your Assistant, Mr. Ochterlony, and to inform you that His Excellency the Vice-President in Council has been pleased to confirm it.

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119. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 98, dated the 9th of March 1811.*

Mismanagement of the Patiála State.

IN some of my dispatches submitted to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council I have occasionally, but casually, mentioned the ruinous profusion of Rajah Saheb Sing and the general mismanagement of his servants in every department. The subject has long engaged my attention, and in various letters to his relations, Rajahs Juswunt Sing and Bhaug Sing, and to the general friend and adviser of the family, Bhye Lall Sing, I have strongly urged them to interfere by advice and expostulation to check the foolish and absurd extravagance of the Rajah, and to endeavor to introduce a degree of order and regularity in his government.

2. I became more urgent on this subject when it was proved that a requisition from Mr. Seton for a small party of two hundred and fifty horse was long unattended to, notwithstanding the Rajah himself gave repeated orders and was anxious to comply, and when at last sent was in every respect inefficient and in fact useless.

3. His commands were given first to one and then to another of his Surdars, but treated with equal contempt by all, and were at length, if ever complete, made up by small parties from all without any general controul or real

commander. I took the occasion of Mr. Seton's requesting me to urge their speedy departure to remonstrate on the delay to the Rajah himself, but still more pointedly to his relations. I remarked on the protection afforded by the British Government, its just claim to such occasional aid, and the disgraceful inattention shewn to the Rajah's repeated orders and the requests of the Resident of Dehli, and I again urged them to assemble at Putteealah and to do everything in their power to effect a much-required and general reform of abuses. From each I received assurances that they saw and deplored the evils I pointed out, and were perfectly sensible that some measures were necessary to save this elder branch of the family from ruin, and promising that they would take the opportunity of a general meeting on the projected marriage of the Rajah's son to consult on the means best suited to the ends.

Mismanagement of the Patiāla State.

4. On the 9th of January I received a strong and pressing invitation from the Rajah, by a confidential person sent on purpose, to attend the wedding, and on the same day letters from Rajahs Bhaug Singh and Juswunt Singh, particularly entreating my acceptance of the invitation, as it would give them the benefit of my advice in the intended settlement of the Rajah's affairs.

5. I accordingly proceeded the next day to Putteealah, and from thence to Thanasur, and the several documents I have the honour to transmit accompanying contain a full and particular account of all my proceedings relative to the object in view.

6. It is a source of great satisfaction to me to reflect that Mr. Seton will be able personally to state to His Lordship the very urgent necessity for some reform, and can relate from his own knowledge abundant proofs of the excessive extravagance and profusion of the Rajah, and the entire relaxation and gross abuses which prevailed in every department under his government.

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7. What was determined on by the two relations, Juswunt Sing and Bhaug Sing, had the entire concurrence of the Rajah himself, who latterly appeared perfectly free from all apprehension, and manifested the most perfect conviction that the arrangements proposed were solely for his own benefit, and shewed a determined resolution to carry them into effect. It is, however, a just subject of doubt whether he can or will remain firm in these resolutions when left to the interested suggestions of those about him, and to the influence of Khaim Koour, who I now find is not his own mother, but one who in fact considers her interest distinct from his, and is equally rapacious as the worst of his servants, and even destitute of the sense or ability necessary to carry the proposed reform into execution.

8. As the Rajah seemed desirous to place the management in her hands, and she promised most solemnly to adopt the measures proposed for the restoration of his affairs, I declared to Rajah Juswunt Sing that I could not have any participation in any step which had for its object any restraint on his person or appointing a Manager, to whom he was decidedly disinclined.

9. That in the interval now proposed for the final adjustment (middle of *Jayte*) it would be clearly seen not only how far the Rajah was inclined steadfastly to adhere to his present resolutions, but how far Ranee Khaim Koour was willing or capable of executing the task she had undertaken, and by that time also the instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General would be received, and it would be ascertained whether His Lordship would approve of placing the controul in the hands of Ranee Aus Koour in opposition to the Rajah's inclinations. I admitted, and with great justice, her superior abilities, and from the eventual succession of her son her greater interest to introduce order and improvement. But, much as I wished such a change, I thought the disagreements which had taken place made it advisable, even in case of her controul being allowed, that she

should not have authority to refuse *every* request or wish of the Rajah, but that in all cases where she thought them improper should engage to submit them to, and be governed as to their expediency by, the decision and advice of the three who were uniformly now consulted on all occasions of importance, Rajahs Juswunt Sing, Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing.

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10. I also insisted that, as it was the Rajah's wish to invest Maiee Khaim Koour with the management, it would neither be fair nor prudent to inform the Ranee Aus Koour of any intentions in her favor, as it would make it her interest to thwart the former even if inclined to the reform, and recommended rather that they should wait to see the effects of the Rajah's daily increasing affection for his son and the many proofs he has recently given of returning regard for his mother, which might even before the time fixed for the ultimate adjustment make that the most earnest wish of the Rajah, which they considered the most conducive to his interest.

11. It was agreed by the friends that part of my plan should be adopted, *viz.*, that the thoughtless grants made by the Rajah should be resumed, and that new ones should be given according to the claims, merits or services, of the holders, and that the holders of land in *jaidad* should be informed they must have the whole or a named portion of their troops ready for muster in the month of *Jayte*, and always held ready for service. Of the Custom Department I did not hear their determination, and supposed from their silence it was not approved.

12. I have troubled the Right Honorable the Governor-General with very voluminous papers in elucidation, but, as my interference has been in a certain degree contrary to the letter of the *Ittilah-nameh*, which reserved to the Chiefs the right of internal controul, I have been anxious to convince His Lordship that I have not interfered but for the most salutary purposes and with the concurrence of the two

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Surdars most nearly connected with the Rajah, and that I had no object in view but such as I trust will be approved—the real interest and welfare of the Rajah himself by introducing some degree of order and economy instead of irregularity and unbounded profusion, and by these means securing to the British Government, when requisite, that aid which they have a just right to expect from the protection they afford.

13. Sincerely and conscientiously believing that the plan recommended would produce both these advantages if carried into effect, I most humbly beg leave to recommend and to solicit that the Rajahs Juswunt Sing and Bhaug Sing may be authorized by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to invest, in case of necessity, the Dewanee or general controul of the Raj in the hands of Ranee Aus Koour, whom they assert, and who is universally said, to be the only person who can place the force and the finances on the footing they ought to be, subject, however, to two restrictions,—first, that all business shall be conducted in the name of Rajah Saheb Sing; and secondly, that she shall always soften the refusal of any request by referring to their present advisers, who shall be umpires of what is expedient to grant or reject.

14. The imbecility of the Rajah requires such a check, and it may be necessary that the Ranee should not have the power of withholding trivial indulgences.

15. I beg leave to repeat that it will afford me pleasure if the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General would be pleased to refer the general subject of the whole of this dispatch to Mr. Seton, whose local knowledge may correct any errors, either of opinion or detail, which I may inadvertently have been guilty of, and who can vouch for one instance amongst a thousand which might be adduced of the Rajah's extreme folly, *viz.* Nejabut Ali Khan having obtained in *jageer* eight villages for one elephant, and, as it is said, through the influence of Chand Khan, whom Nejabut Ali Khan condescended to bribe.

16. This circumstance is alluded to in one of the accompanying papers, and was written by the Rajah in consequence of my having advised that the elephant should be returned and these villages amongst the first resumed.

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17. Ranee Aus Koour declared to me through her Dewan, Noudah Missur, that her greatest anxiety was to have a radical reform introduced on account of her son, and whether it was effected through her or by any other means she would do everything in her power to forward it as an object most conducive to his interest. I desired Noudah Missur to inform her that such sentiments were highly honorable to her maternal feelings; that at present from what I heard it was not advisable to mention her name, nor could I flatter her with any hope of future participation in the authority, but it would be very commendable in her to exert all her means to promote the principal object, though she might not derive any immediate benefit; and I most strongly urged her to conciliate the Rajah, to meet all his advances with kindness, to cultivate his returning regard, and instruct her son, by frequent visits and a submissive and obedient attention, to augment that affection, which nature had implanted, and which in my opinion would be the best and only mode of counteracting the prejudicial influence of the woman he called his mother.

18. I have only to request that in the journal[1] of my Head Moonshy (which I have sent, exactly as he wrote it, though I only desired him to take notes of every conversation he had with the Rajahs, and of every order he received from me) the expression of Himmut Singh promising to *divide* whatever was received may not be taken in its literal sense, but meant as declaring that he had no self-interest to serve in the execution of the reform, and as being in strict conformity to the promise which I exacted from both that whatever measures were taken they should be solely and exclusively

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

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directed to the reformation of abuses, and not either directly or indirectly to answer any interested purposes of their own, either in the selection of servants or in any other manner.

11. I trust that the manner in which I have interposed and the motives of my interposition will be approved by His Lordship in Council, having throughout the whole transaction declared that the Right Honorable the Governor-General would derive satisfaction from any measures which contributed to the welfare and prosperity of any State or district under the protection of the British Government.

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120. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 22nd of March 1811.*

Desire of Shah Zaman to retire into British Territory.

I am directed to transmit to you, for your information and guidance, the enclosed copy of a dispatch from the Acting Resident at Delhi under date the 8th instant, together with a copy of my letter of this date to the Acting Resident written under the orders of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council.

Enclosure (1) to 120.

From W. Fraser, Esquire, 2nd Assistant in charge of the Residency, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William,—dated Delhi, the 8th of March 1811.

Azum Begh, a servant of Shah Zuman's, reached this place a few days ago carrying a letter from Prince Yoonoos addressed to Mr. Seton.

2. The letter referred to the verbal communications of Azum Begh, who intimated the desire of Shah Zuman to retire with his family within the British territory.

3. A copy and translation of the letter and my reply I have the honor to enclose to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, and I request you will be pleased to solicit the instructions of His

Lordship in Council in the event of that Prince pressing his intention or advancing within our frontier without giving previous intimation of his determination.

Desire of Shah Zaman to retire into British territory.

Translation of a letter addressed by Prince YOONOOS *to Mr.* SETON,*—dated 2nd April 1811.*

AZUM BEGH, a confidential servant, will reach you. Conform to his representations and return him speedily with care and accounts of yourself.

Translation of the reply to the letter of Prince YOONOOS *to the address of Mr.* SETON,*—dated 2nd April 1811.*

THE letter which Your Highness addressed to Mr. Seton reached me. The servant of Your Highness informs me that it is the intention of your Royal Father to visit this country, provided the permission of the British Government be obtained. When Mr. Seton, who has departed for Calcutta, left this place I received no orders on this subject. I cannot therefore reply to the intimation Your Highness has been pleased to convey, but I shall immediately communicate the intentions of your Royal Father to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, and, soliciting his reply, forward it to Your Highness.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 120.

From N. B. EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to* W. FRASER, *Esquire, in charge of the Residency at Delhi,—dated Fort William, 22nd March 1811.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your two dispatches dated the 6th and 8th instant, the former reporting the success of your endeavours to persuade Prince Munsoor to return to his father, the latter announcing the arrival of a messenger dispatched by Zemaun Shah for the purpose of intimating the desire of the latter to retire with his family within the British territory.

Desire of Shah Zaman to retire into British Territory.

2. His Excellency the Vice-President in Council has received with great satisfaction the information contained in the first of those dispatches, and considers you entitled to the credit of much address in persuading the Prince Munsoor to return; whilst he approves entirely of the mode of proceeding which you adopted on this occasion and of the pecuniary aid which you afforded to the Prince, and which appears to His Excellency in Council to have been judicious in point of form and moderate in extent.

3. It is superfluous to observe that the Vice-President in Council is extremely anxious to prevent the arrival of Zemaun Shah within the British territories. The considerations which oppose the expediency of affording an asylum to the son obviously operate with still greater force with respect to the father. It is, therefore, the desire of His Excellency in Council that every effort should be employed to prevent Zemaun Shah from carrying his intention into effect. You will therefore endeavour, either through the agency of this messenger or by a direct communication, to impress upon the mind of Zemaun Shah a conviction of the absolute inutility of the proposed measure by causing him to understand that the British Government would not find itself authorized to supply His Majesty and his family with the means of support; that, deeply as the British Government laments his misfortunes and those of His Royal brother, it cannot depart from the line of neutrality with regard to the contending interests of the two monarchs which the British Government has uniformly observed, and that consequently he could not expect that Government in any manner or degree to espouse his cause; that therefore he would but expose himself to additional distress by withdrawing from the territory of a Chief from whom, as having stood in the relation of a tributary or dependant to his brother Shah Shujah while the latter maintained the sovereignty of Caubul, he and the rest of the Royal Family have a right to claim the duties of subserviency, and by separating himself from the fortunes and society of his brother; that it would be far more advisable for the whole of the Royal Family to remain together,

approximated as much as may be to the Afghaun territories, in readiness to take advantage of any events which the vicissitudes of fortune may produce of a nature favorable to their future prospects, instead of manifesting by their dispersion or retreat a despair of better days and discouraging the hopes, the zeal and eventual efforts of their partizans and adherents.

Desire of Shah Zaman to retire into British territory.

4. It may not be improper to observe also that the line of neutral conduct adopted by the British Government on this occasion is precisely that which was pursued at a time when the fortunes of Shah Shujah and Zemaun Shah were triumphant, since it then withheld its support from the fugitive princes of the family of their rival Mahmood Shah and required them to retreat from the British dominions. You will at the same time employ such further arguments of dissuasion as your judgment may suggest.

5. His Excellency in Council is disposed to hope that by arguments such as these, as being in fact a prohibition against the execution of his design and as tending to convince Zemaun Shah that neither he nor his brother can expect any aid or support from the British Government, the former may be induced to abandon his intention of seeking an asylum within the British territories. His Excellency in Council, moreover, is not without hopes that the example of the unsuccessful visits of the Princes Yoonus and Munsoor will contribute to discourage Zemaun Shah from an attempt similar to theirs. If notwithstanding this prohibition Zemaun Shah should resolve to advance, Government will be better enabled to withhold those observances which might be considered to belong to his rank and situation, but which could not but create an extreme degree of inconvenience and embarrassment, and the expectation of the effect of this reply to the Shah's application might properly be urged by the officers of Government as the cause of their not being already furnished with instructions for the guidance of their conduct, and their consequent omission of the due formalities of his reception and entertainment, if he should proceed within the

Desire of Shah Zaman to retire into British territory.

limits of their jurisdiction before they could receive such instructions. This intimation may be expected to have the effect of inducing him to halt, and would afford an opportunity of determining and of apprizing the Shah before his actual entry within the limits of the British jurisdiction of the nature of the reception to be afforded him under the circumstance of his advancing in opposition to the counsel and consent of the British Government.

6. Copies of this letter and of your dispatch of the 8th instant will be transmitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony for the eventual guidance of his conduct, although His Excellency in Council concludes that you have already reported to that officer the mission of Azum Beg and the object of it.

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121. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 5th of April 1811.*

Degree of interference to be exercised in the affairs of the Raja of Patiála.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 9th ultimo,[1] reporting in detail the measures adopted by you in concert with Rajahs Jeswunt Sing and Bhaug Sing for the purpose of effecting a reform in the administration of the affairs of the Rajah of Putteealah.

2. Of the expediency of those measures considered merely in connection with their object, His Excellency the Vice-President in Council is disposed to entertain a favourable opinion. That a reform such as has been proposed is urgently required with a view to the prosperity of the petty State of Putteealah cannot be denied, and the means pursued for that purpose are perhaps the most effectual of any which it was practicable to adopt. The only question suggested by this transaction to the consideration of Government is whether upon general principles of policy our direct participation in the measures of reform be prudent and advisable, and with regard to this point His Excellency in Council entertains considerable doubt.

[1] 119 *supra.*

Degree of interference to be exercised in the affairs of the Raja of Patiála.

3. It is not to be denied that our interests in that quarter would be benefited, and that some evils and inconveniences would be precluded by the establishment of an efficient system of administration in the country of Putteealah; and the good effects which it is calculated to produce on the condition of the inhabitants, the tranquillity and good order which it must tend to promote, and the general purpose of preserving the Principality from ruin, give to the measure of our interference the attractive character of benevolence. But even these combined motives of prospective policy and immediate good must not be allowed to constitute exclusive principles of action. They must be held in subordination to other fixed and fundamental rules of comprehensive policy. If unrestrained by those rules, it is not easy to assign a limit to their practical operation. They would be applicable to the evils and abuses in every petty Chiefship from the Sutledge to the Jumna. They would warrant our interference in the disputes and distractions which desolate the more distant States and territories of Iyenagur, Mehwar, Hindoostan and Dekkan,—disorders which may readily be supposed to comprise the elements of future danger to the British power, which are the fruitful source of great and wide-extended misery, and therefore hold forth to the views of speculative policy motives of interference founded on considerations of future security, of abstract justice and general philanthropy.

4. With respect to the case immediately in question, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that in a political point of view a scrupulous adherence to the principle, which we have so often and so solemnly professed, of abstaining from all interference in the internal administration and concerns of the petty States between the Sutledge and the Jumna which are placed under the general protection of the British power, is of more importance than the attainment of the benefits which a deviation from that principle is expected to produce in the case under consideration.

5. If it be alleged that the degree of interference which you propose to exercise in the affairs of Putteealah is qualified

Degree of interference to be exercised in the affairs of the Raja of Patiála.

by the intermediate agency of the Chiefs who are the relatives of Saheb Sing and who have solicited your aid; that it is not likely to be viewed with jealousy or alarm by the general body of the Chiefs; and that it cannot therefore operate injuriously to our interests whilst it is necessarily productive of essential benefit to the country, to its inhabitants and even to the Rajah himself—it is to be observed that in whatever degree that interference is exercised in the same degree it tends to diminish the credit of our publick professions; that to those who are hostile to our interests, who are disposed to ascribe to us systematick habits of gradual and insidious encroachment, our conduct will be viewed under all the misconceptions of malevolence, and without any allowance for the considerations and the motives by which it has been actuated; that the interference of a powerful State in the concerns of a weaker is necessarily progressive with relation not only to the latter, but to others which are contiguous. It involves the guarantee of the arrangements which it is employed to introduce. It places the interposing power in connection with some local interests and in opposition to others, and by the natural effects of action and reaction the Government which employed its influence for the adjustment of those foreign concerns is ultimately compelled to become the arbiter and controuler of the local administration in all its branches, and to identify the rights and interests of the protected State with its own. From this stage of commixture in the concerns of one State, the transition is natural and unavoidable to an interference in the concerns of others with which (as in the present case) it stands connected by political or family relations; and thus by necessary gradation a slight departure from a principle of policy declared by Government to be fundamental and immutable terminates in the entire abandonment of it.

6. Entertaining this view of the subject which you have brought under the consideration of Government, you will infer that the Vice-President in Council is unwilling to concur in the further prosecution of the measures which you

have proposed, and that, considering a scrupulous and rigid adherence to every principle professed and formally proclaimed to all the Chiefs placed under our protection to be indispensably necessary, His Excellency in Council is anxious that you should abstain from any participation in the measures of reform, however necessary, in the State of Putteealah, and that you should limit your interference to the mere expression of your advice and recommendation on points that may be submitted to your judgment. The distinction is obvious between the occasional exercise of the influence of a protecting power in securing to the several Chiefs the enjoyment of their respective rights by preventing the usurpation of injustice and ambition, and that species of interference which affects the internal administration of their territories and controuls their liberty of action within the limits of their legitimate jurisdiction in points of legislation, civil and military economy. The former is the proper and necessary office of protection; the latter has a tendency to convert protection into controul and to abridge the rights which we profess to maintain.

Degree of interference to be exercised in the affairs of the Raja of Patiála.

7. It is superfluous to add that although, for the reason now detailed, the Vice-President in Council differs in opinion with you regarding the expediency of the measures which you have adopted and proposed for the reform of the administration of Rajah Saheb Sing, yet His Excellency in Council justly appreciates the motives of your conduct and the grounds of your counsel, and considers them to be exclusively the result of that zeal and solicitude which you have uniformly manifested for the interests of the publick service.

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122. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 5th of July 1811.*

His Excellency the Vice-President in Council concludes that you have received from the Resident at Delhi a copy of his letter to my address of the 11th ultimo. I am now

Proclamation to be issued to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

Proclamation to be issued to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy[1] of my reply to that letter, and to convey to you the instructions to which the 4th paragraph of it refers, by stating the substance of the Proclamation which His Excellency in Council deems it expedient that you should issue to the Sikh Chieftains between the Jumna and the Sutledge.

2. The Proclamation should commence by reciting the fundamental principle of guarantee which was adopted at the time when those Chieftains were taken under the protection of the British Government, namely that of securing them in the possession of the lands which they respectively held antecedently to the last incursion of Rajah Runjeet Sing into the territory situated between the Jumna and the Sutledge. The Proclamation should then proceed to state that the interference of the British Government in the concerns of the Sikh Chieftains has been regulated entirely by that principle; that we desire not to interfere in the internal administration of their respective countries; and that consequently complaints and representations of the nature of those described in the 12th paragraph of Mr. Metcalfe's letter of the 11th ultimo have not been and will not be attended to, but that the preservation of general tranquillity and the discharge of the obligations of that protection, which has been extended to all, require that we should interpose our authority to effect the restitution of lands which, in violation of the arrangement originally prescribed, one Chieftain may have usurped from another.

3. It may be useful then to specify in succinct terms some of the instances in which our interference has been so employed.

4. It will then be proper to observe that, whereas by rendering the mere restitution of the usurped lands the sole penalty of the usurpation, on the one hand an encouragement is afforded to the commission of such acts of injustice, since the usurper derives the advantage of intermediate possession,

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

and on the other complete justice is not done to the injured party, who in such case incurs a permanent loss; and whereas Government itself has been exposed to the extraordinary expense of equipping detachments for the purpose of inforcing the orders of restitution which under the expectation of impunity the usurper has been encouraged to disregard; for these reasons it is declared that in every future instance of encroachment Government reserves to itself the option of not only demanding the repayment of whatever collections may have been made from the usurped lands, together with a compensation for any injury that the lands or their inhabitants may have sustained by the transaction, but also of imposing a fine upon the usurper to an amount adapted to the circumstances of the case.

5. You will accordingly be pleased, in communication with the Resident at Delhi, to prepare and issue a Proclamation to the effect above described, with such modifications as may appear to you to be necessary and are consistent with the spirit of it, transmitting of course a copy and translation of it for the information of Government.

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123. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Commanding at Lodhiana,—dated the 12th of July 1811.*

Specimens of Kashmír sheep required by the Court of Directors.

I AM directed to transmit to you, for your information and guidance, the enclosed copy of an extract from the proceedings of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council in the Public Department under date the 28th ultimo, and to desire that you will, in conformity to the orders therein conveyed by the Honourable the Court of Directors, endeavour to procure and send to the Presidency, for the purpose of being forwarded to England, some specimens of the Cashmeerean breed of sheep.

2. His Excellency the Vice-President in Council understands that the breed of sheep peculiar to Cashmere is of the light-tailed kind, and not of the sort termed *doomba,* which

Specimens of Kashmír sheep required by the Court of Directors.

is common throughout Afghanistan. Corresponding instructions will be also transmitted to the Resident at Delhi.

Extract from the Proceedings of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council in the Public Department, under date the 28th June 1811.

Extract from a Public General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated the 10th October 1810.

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PARA. 2. We have received an application from the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart., representing that the Board of Agriculture are anxious that specimens of the Cashmeerean breed of sheep should be brought over to this country and the practicability of their succeeding in Great Britain, and, being at all times desirous of affording every facility in our power towards the attainment of any object which may prove beneficial to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country, we direct that you use your best endeavours to accomplish the object in question.

3. We have communicated our wishes in this respect to Sir Gore Ousely previous to his departure for Persia and have requested his particular attention to the subject.

Resolution.—Ordered that an extract (paragraphs 2nd and 3rd) from the foregoing letter from the Honourable Court of Directors be recorded in the Political Department, from whence the Resident at Delhi and the Officer Commanding at Lodhiana will be desired to endeavour to procure, and to send to the Presidency for the purpose of being forwarded to England, some specimens of the Cashmeerean breed of sheep.

Ordered also that copies of the same paragraphs be sent to the Board of Trade, with directions to them to require the attention of the Resident at Etayah and Culpee to the practicability of obtaining any of those specimens in the Upper Provinces or of employing any of the natives of those Provinces trading to Cashmere to procure them from thence on commission.

C. M. RICKETTS,

Secretary to Government.

124. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political, &c., Department, Fort William,—No. 103, dated the 30th of July 1811.*

Proclamation to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th July, [1] and in obedience to the commands of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council, have prepared an explanatory Proclamation, which accompanies this dispatch, for the approval and correction of the Resident at Dehli.

2. When I profess the sincerest respect for the talents, abilities and judgment with a sentiment of friendship and affection for Mr. Metcalfe almost paternal, His Excellency the Vice-President in Council will not suspect me of any motive which Mr. Metcalfe will not approve, if I venture to offer a few observations on the 11th and 12th paragraphs of his dispatch of the 11th June. It is our mutual wish, as it is our mutual duty, to give such accounts of our Sikh protégés as to each appears just; but we take different views of the same object, and, as his picture is delineated at Dehli, I beg leave to offer my sketch from Loodeana. But, as Mr. Metcalfe's was drawn at an early period after his arrival, I shall first endeavour to account for the impressions which may have had an influence on his pencil.

3. In the interval of Mr. Metcalfe's departure from and return to Dehli some changes had been contemplated or adopted in the Police Department, and the Sikh Surdars more immediately connected with the British Government were apprehensive that the new system would be extended to their jagheers. They did not know what to urge against the measure respecting those districts which they held by grant from the British Government, but, though very reluctant to admit them in either, they exerted all their influence and interest to prevent their being sent into those lands which they had acquired during the administration of General Perron; and as one means of prevention, without positively asserting

[1] 122 *supra*.

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the fact, they insidiously sought to impress on the minds of all the Sikh Vakeels at that Durbar an idea that the introduction of a police into their jagheers would soon be followed by their establishment in the Protected territory; and this idea was so sedulously inculcated and made so general an impression that an assemblage of the southern Chiefs took place at Thunnaser, and gave a slight and momentary alarm to Colonel Marshall until he discovered these idle fears to be the cause of their meeting.

4. This report was intended by the fabricators to induce them to make common cause, and it was whilst this absurd notion was at its height that Mr. Metcalfe returned to Delhi.

5. I have had frequent occasion to report a selfish cunning to be a prominent feature in the Sikh character, and I cannot help thinking that the complaints and pretended alarms which gave rise to Mr. Metcalfe's report originated in the fears of a police, though they would carefully conceal and abstain from hinting at the real ground of their apprehensions to him whom they supposed was to carry the measure into effect.

6. That they still retain some suspicions and alarms I do not mean to deny, but they are of a different nature from that of mere interference in their internal administration, and to remove them at present would be the greatest evil they could suffer; they can only be eradicated by time, which has already made a powerful impression and must at length force conviction.

7. From the moment that the Cis-Sutledgian Sikhs were released from all dread of Runjeet Sing's encroachments they began to entertain new fears.

8. They never wished a stationary protective force. Their aim was only to deter Runjeet from further incursions by the terror of the British name and the danger of invading territory under British protection. Their first solicitations were rejected, and we came when some who were most anxious had not only lost their terror, but had greatly benefited by his

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bounty. We were considered by some uninvited, unexpected and even unwelcome guests, but they did not know how to refuse what they had once solicited, and, as a British Army was too formidable to resist, and there were yet many who feared the future visits of the Lahore Chief, Jodh Sing alone of all the powerful Chiefs was the only one who withheld his attendance on the advance of my detachment. By the declaration of protection they acquired all they desired ; they would have wished to be left to prey upon each other *ad libitum.* Runjeet, had the force been withdrawn, would soon by their conduct or his own have afforded a cause of war, and whilst we should have borne all the expenses and encountered all the danger, they would have enjoyed the delights of immediate plunder, rapine and devastation, and have looked to an indemnification for their services in grants of the Punjaub.

9. When all these cherished hopes vanished by the treaty with Runjeet, and a force being stationed at Loodeana for the combined purpose of keeping him in check and controuling their own feuds and depredations, they certainly did, and some perhaps still do, indulge other fears; and, as they saw no benefit, heard of no tribute, or any call which could account for such unexampled generosity, the yearly began to suspect that power and inclination would not be separated, and the protection of their country would ultimately terminate in its annexation to the British dominions.

10. Amongst the lower class of the inhabitants it is as earnestly wished as anxiously expected, and the suspicion sometimes shews itself in the jealousy of the Chiefs ; yet, as their belief reconciles them to all events, I am of opinion that amongst the Surdars it is only a transient or occasional idea, and that the interference of the British Government is generally felt and acknowledged as a blessing.

11. If there are a few who think otherwise, it is only those who possessing the means would gratify their inclinations in the commission of injuries, injustice and crime, and it

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cannot be regretted that such men should be curbed in their career of plunder, depredation and oppression.

12. The coercive measures we have used for the restitution of property have only excited regret in the aggressors, whilst the justice and disinterestedness of the transaction have either been openly applauded or beheld with silent admiration and astonishment.

13. The tenor of the first Proclamation has been, in every instance within my recollection and my sphere of action, rigidly adhered to.

14. Vakeels from every Chief are in attendance both here and I believe at Dehli, and stupidity could hardly misconstrue, or the most discontented cavil at, the plain terms in which every case affecting internal administration has been dismissed.

15. Where villages or shares of villages belong to different Surdars I have thought it a duty to hear them in the presence of their respective Vakeels, and the petty warfare which occurred in former times has been changed for the patient and impartial investigation of right. On these points were I to offer an opinion, I should say that they know they require, and are glad to possess, this sort of interference of a third disinterested person, who acts as an arbitrator and by the intervention of a salutary authority soothes that pride which would have flown to arms in support of his own villagers, though he knew their claims unreasonable, their cause unjust and his force unequal to cope with the superior power of his opponent.

16. These are men who have benefited largely by the munificence of the British Government. It is these men who wish to turn these marks of favor or reward still further to their own advantage; industriously inculcating an idea of their importance, influence and interest, they depreciate British justice; and it is chiefly, if not solely, these men who pretend alarms of interference in their internal administration, because, under the name and disguise of internal controul, they attempt and hope to rob their relations and dependants with

impunity and without investigation, and to annihilate the existence of property unless as belonging to themselves.

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17. It is impossible to pass through the country without hearing and seeing the beneficial effects of our interference in the increased and still increasing agricultural improvement of the lands and industry of the inhabitants. The farmer sows with confidence what he hopes to reap in security, and the Chiefs not only derive the advantages resulting from their exertions, but, as the zemeendars themselves complain, levy higher taxes, because they no longer fear the ejection of their own thanas or their recourse to a more lenient master, that is, they now pay nearer the just value of the produce than they formerly would have done.

18. The relations declared to subsist between the British Government and the southern Chiefs will not admit of an interference in their internal administration; but, if such a controul existed under certain limitations, I am convinced it would only tend to the superior prosperity of the country and the augmentation of the revenues of the very men who deprecate its establishment.

19. I hope this long and perhaps unnecessary address will be received by His Excellency with the usual indulgence, and I shall only beg the orders of His Excellency on one point, which Mr. Metcalfe may possibly correct in the copy of the Proclamation this day transmitted, but which I did not find easy to effect, not only from my imperfect knowledge of the Persian, but from some doubts as to the propriety of the point itself.

20. In mentioning the repayment of all collections and the optional fine, I have said, generally, all Sardars on this side of the Sutledge, but these encroachments are as likely to be made by the Surdars of Bhurtgurh and Goongrana and others of Runjeet's jageerdars as by any of our own immediate dependants, and supposing such a case to occur it would be desirable to receive the orders of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council whether any or what distinction should be made.

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125. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 23rd of August 1811.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 103, under date the 30th ultimo,[1] in reply to the instructions of Government contained in my letter of the 5th of that month, which prescribed the terms of a Proclamation to be issued to the Sikh Chiefs under our protection, and stating your observations with reference to the report from the Resident at Delhi of the 11th of June on which those instructions were founded.

2. His Excellency the Vice-President in Council highly approves the communication of the remarks contained in your dispatch, which satisfactorily account for the impressions under which the Resident at Delhi framed his report of the 11th of June, and which appear to His Excellency in Council to be founded on a correct view of the condition, and an accurate knowledge of the sentiments and character, of the Sikh Chiefs.

3. Government is entirely satisfied of the propriety and necessity of the degree of interference exercised through your agency in the concerns of those Chiefs, and ascribes to you the credit of great zeal, discretion, industry and ability in the discharge of the difficult and laborious duties which that agency imposes on you. It was by no means the design of Government in directing the Proclamation described in my letter of the 5th of July to abridge the measure of interference hitherto exercised. The objects of it were to preclude the apprehension of that interference being extended in a manner calculated to affect the legitimate and acknowledged rights and independence of the Chiefs within the limits of their respective territories, and to discourage, by annexing a penalty to, their future encroachments on each other's possessions.

[1] 124 *supra.*

4. Although your observations therefore shew the former of these objects to be less urgent than Government had reason to suppose from the representation of the Resident at Delhi, yet, as that part of the prescribed Proclamation which applies to the object in question can only have a tendency to confirm the confidence of our dependants, while the second object to which it is directed is obviously of importance, His Excellency in Council is still of opinion that the Proclamation should be issued. Proclamation to the Protected Sikh Chiefs.

5. The draft of the Proclamation which you have prepared not having been yet received from the Resident at Delhi, a reply to the reference contained in the last paragraph of your dispatch is necessarily suspended.

6. A copy of this letter will be transmitted to Mr. Metcalfe for his information.

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126. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 105, dated the 2nd September 1811.*

IN obedience to the orders conveyed in your letter of the 5th July last, I have now the honor of transmitting a copy and translation of the Proclamation made to the Sikh Surdars, &c., under your instructions, having previously sent it in to the Resident of Delhi for approval.

ENCLOSURE TO 126.

PROCLAMATION.

For the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Sutlej and Jumna.

ON the 3rd of May 1809 an *Ittillah-nameh*, comprised of seven Articles, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting that, the country of the Surdars of Surhind and Malwa having come under their protection, Rajah Runjeet Sing, agreeably to Treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Surdars; that the British Government

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had no intention of claiming *peishkush* or *nuzerana* ; and that they should continue in the full controul and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above *Ittillah-nameh* was intended to afford every confidence to the Surdars that the protection of the country was the sole object ; that they had no intention of controul ; and that those having possessions should remain in full and complete enjoyment thereof :

Whereas several zemeendars and other subjects of the Chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government, who, having in view the tenor of the above *Ittillah-nameh*, have not attended, and will not in future pay attention, to them ; for instance on the 15th June 1811 Dellawer Ali Khan of Samana complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Rajah Saheb Sing for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them, who in reply observed that "the *cusba* of Samana being in the *amuldary* of Rajah Saheb Sing, his complaint should be made to him" ; and also, on the 12th July 1811, Dussoundha Sing and Goormook Sing complained to Colonel Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor-General, against Surdar Churrut Sing for their shares of property, &c., and in reply it was written on the back of their *urzee* "that since during the period of three years no claim was preferred against Churrut Sing by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertized in the *Ittillah-nameh* delivered to the Surdars that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full enjoyment of his domains, their petition could not be attended to." The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also that it may be impressed on the minds of every zemeendar and other subjects that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not in the smallest degree swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajahs and other Surdars on this side of the river Sutledge that they explain this to their respective subjects and court their confidence, that it may be clear to them that complaints

to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Surdars as the source of justice, and that, of their free will and accord, they observe uniform obedience :

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And whereas, according to the first Proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Surdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of meliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information that several Surdars have since the last incursion of Rajah Runjeet Sing wrested the estates of others and deprived them of their lawful possessions, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British Army have been sent to effect restitution, as in the case of the Ranee of Zeera, the Sikhs of Cholian, the *Talookas* of Karowley and Chehloundy, and the village of Cheeba; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is therefore, by order of the British Government, hereby proclaimed that if any one of the Surdars or others has forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that, before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property; in which, however, should delays be made and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate from the date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government.

LOODIANA: }
The 22nd August 1811. }

(Sd.) D. OCHTERLONY,
Agent to Governor-General.

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127. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 27th of September 1811.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 105,[1] enclosing a copy and translation of the Proclamation to the Sikh Chiefs framed according to the instructions of Government communicated to you in my dispatch of the 5th of July, and to signify to you His Excellency the Vice-President in Council's approbation of the tenor of it.

2. With reference to the question stated in the last paragraph of your dispatch of the 30th of July, an answer to which was suspended until the receipt of a copy of the Proclamation, I am instructed to observe that a Proclamation issued on the basis of the authority derived from the relations of protection and dependence established between the British Government and certain of the Chiefs whose territories are situated between the Sutledge and the Jumna, cannot properly be rendered applicable to those who are acknowledged to be the dependants of the Rajah of Lahore and that upon general principles of public law, in the case which you have supposed of encroachments on any of our dependants by those of the Rajah of Lahore, we have to look to the Rajah for redress and compensation; consequently it is unnecessary to express in the Proclamation any distinction between the two classes of dependants. If any such case should arise, you will of course convey the requisite remonstrance to the Rajah of Lahore, but you will at the same time report the circumstances of the case for the orders and instructions of Government.

[1] 126 *supra.*

CHAPTER III.

1812-14.

Marriage of Raja Ranjit Singh's son—Deputation of Mr. Moorcroft to purchase horses—Muskets for Raja Ranjit Singh—Maladministration of the Patiala State—Attempt on the life of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony at Patiala—Application of the Chief of Mani Majra for a title—Tax on pilgrims—Refuge of members of the Royal Family of Kabul in British Territory—Farm of Sayer and Abkari duties of Ludhiana—Encroachments of Gurkhas and proposed military operations—Visit of Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony to the Commander of the Gurkha Forces.

128. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 116, dated Phugwara, the 23rd of January 1812.*

Invitation of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to the marriage of Ranjit Singh's son.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that on the evening of the 20th instant Lala Bhowany Dass arrived at the Post of Loodeana, bringing with him a *kharita* from Runjeet Sing respecting his invitation to the marriage of his son, and informing me that the Lala was deputed to accompany me and to take care that every attention was paid to the furnishing of whatever number of troops I should think proper to take with me as an escort. It was originally my intention to have proceeded with a very small, or without any, guard, under an idea that, whilst it would give less trouble, it would mark more confidence; but, finding from the Lahore newspapers that the Lala was instructed not to press

Invitation of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony to the marriage of Ranjit Singh's son.

me respecting the number of my escort, if I appeared inclined to bring only a small party, but to contrive to intimate that the larger it was the greater would be the compliment, I changed my resolution, and ordered the whole of the Light Company of the 1st Battalion 13th and a Jemmadar and 30 from the same company of the second, to which, at the desire of the Rajah's Vakeel, I added one of the gallopers of the 7th Cavalry as being particularly mentioned in Bhowany Dass' instructions, and one of the things he had the greatest curiosity to see.

2. I left Loodeana yesterday and arrived at this place (Phugwara) this morning, but the interval between the Lala's arrival and my departure was so entirely occupied by the necessary attentions to Rajahs Bhaug Sing and Juswunt Sing and Bhae Lall Sing, who arrived at Loodeana at the same time on their way to the marriage, that I could not till this moment make the necessary report for His Lordship's information.

Patiála affairs.

3. Just as I was mounting my horse yesterday to cross the Sutledge, Hameer Sing returned again from the Rajah of Putteealah, by whom he had been sent express to entreat me to send my Head Moonshy to him at Syfabad, to assure me every hour convinced him more fully of the folly of his late conduct, and that he was willing and most desirous to give me the most solemn pledge in his power that he would not be again misled or deceived or ever act so contrary to his own interests as to displace the Ranee Aus Koour, but that without my interference he could not divest himself of apprehension or return to Putteealah.

4. I told Hameer Sing to say to the Rajah that I had pledged myself not merely for his safety, but that he should not hear one word of complaint; that in the course of three years I had never once deceived him, but had uniformly and disinterestedly offered him on all occasions my best advice; and that I was certain he had sufficient judgment to understand clearly that his best interests were my only object. He therefore had had sufficient experience of my disposition

to place an entire reliance on whatever I wrote or said, but that on my part he must be sensible I had no reason to give my confidence to any assurances of his, verbal or written, and that I could now only repeat what I had said before, and would not in any shape interfere in his concerns until I could be more certain of the permanency of his resolutions. **Patiála affairs.**

5. Hameer Sing heard me, I observed, with great concern and impatience, and seemed often to wish to interrupt me; but when I had concluded he used the strongest entreaties that I would relent and save the Raj from ruin; that I should reflect on the weakness of the Rajah, who was really good, though liable to be misled, and not master of his own actions; that to gratify him at this moment was to ensure the duration of the Ranee's controul, which was not only his wish, but the desire of every one who like him had grown old in the service of the family and had no sinister purposes to serve; that he would not urge me to go myself or to send Burkut Ali Khan, as I was going to the marriage, but if I would send the lowest of my *khidmutgars* merely to give to the Rajah the requisite confidence, he hoped he would return to Putteealah and the business of the Government would go on; and he added that, as I had called Kurm Sing my son, he was persuaded that my acquiescence would oblige both him and his mother.

6. After a long discussion, I at length consented that Abdool Nubby Khan, an under Moonshy, should return with him on my part to assure him that he might return to Putteealah without apprehension, but that respecting the administration the Rajah was at liberty to make what choice he pleased; but if it was fixed on the Ranee Aus Koour he would best shew the stability of his resolves by deferring the business for a month or six weeks; and, to give him full time for consideration, I declined to receive and returned a written engagement which Hameer Sing had brought with him, and in exchange gave him one from the Ranee and Misser Noudah which had been sent me, and by which they promised on oath the strictest adherence to his wishes and obedience to his orders.

Patiála affairs.

7. As it began, however, by stating that the Maharajah "having reinstated them," I gave Abdool Nubby the strictest injunctions to explain to the Rajah that their obedience would not be conditional, and if he desired to remove the Ranee it might be effected by the slightest intimation of his wishes and without any act of violence on his part.

8. I have not had an opportunity of conversing with the other Chiefs on this subject, but I have the strongest reason to believe that, if His Lordship should be pleased to honor my recommendation with his sanction, it would be considered by Rajah Bhaug Singh and Bhye Lall Singh a laudable and most salutary interference, and if Juswunt Singh has any objections there are none he could venture to urge, springing as they must do from his connection with the Ranee Khem Koour, or a desire through her influence of enriching himself at the expense of the Putteealah treasury, if not the alienation of some of its possessions.

9. If therefore the Rajah should again call upon me, I beg leave to repeat my urgent solicitations for His Lordhsip's permission, under the strongest and most concientious belief of the Rajah himself, whilst it would promote the interests of the British Government.

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129. *From C. T. METCALFE, Esquire, Resident at Dehli, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana,—dated the 30th of January 1812.*

Deputation of Mr. Moorcroft to purchase horses in the Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to enclose a copy of instructions from Government, from which you will perceive that it is considered desirable to ascertain, as soon as possible, whether Rajah Runjeet Sing be disposed to allow Mr. Moorcroft to travel over the Punjaub in quest of horses, or otherwise.

2. Conceiving that in your present situation you may have favorable opportunities of ascertaining this point, I take the liberty of recommending the subject to your attention.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO 129.

From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, to C. T. METCALFE, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated Fort William, the 3rd of January 1812.

Deputation of Mr. Moorcroft to purchase horses in the Punjab.

IN continuation of my letter to your address of the 19th ultimo, I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an extract from the proceedings of Government in the Military Department under date the 24th ultimo, and to communicate to you the desire of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council that you will be guided by it in facilitating the objects of Mr. Moorcroft's journey.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 129.

Extract from the proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council in the Military Department, under date the 24th December 1811.

Extract from a letter from the Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Stud at Poosah, dated 8th November 1811.

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PARA. 3. In addition to the instructions proposed to be given to the Resident at the Court of Delhi, as stated in Mr. Secretary Gardiner's letter, paragraph 3rd, I beg leave to submit the propriety of that gentleman being directed to make enquiry as soon as possible from Rajah Runjeet Sing whether I may have his permission to visit his country and capital for the purpose of purchasing stock to breed from, and also that Mr. Metcalfe be requested to furnish me with letters of introduction to those Rajahs into whose territories I may find it advisable to travel or through which cattle purchased by me may have to pass in their route to the Honorable Company's Province, in order that they may afford them safe convoy.

ORDERED that a copy of the 3rd paragraph of the abovementioned letter be transmitted to the Political Department for consideration and orders.

Deputation of Mr. Moorcroft to the Punjab to purchase horses.

130. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. T. Metcalfe, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 10th of February 1812.*

I have much pleasure in acquainting you of the ready acquiescence of Runjeet Sing to Mr. Moorcroft's proposed visit to Lahore and to extend his trip to Dhunny Gheeb, which produces the finest breed of horses in the Punjaub; and I have no doubt should Mr. Moorcroft on personal enquiry find any other place or places worthy of his attention for the purchase of horses that Runjeet Sing's permission will not be withheld.

It will, however, obviate delay if Mr. Moorcroft would write to me from Dehli fixing the day of his arrival at Loodeana, which will enable Runjeet to issue the necessary instructions to the Officer Commanding at Philour.

I beg leave also to mention that Runjeet intends to visit Hurdwar with a thousand horse in the month of *Bysakh* or earlier, and has requested me to have the necessary permission in readiness should he determine to carry this resolution into effect.

I shall in the course of a few days address Government on this subject, but shall feel personally obliged by your making this intimation without delay if I am mistaken in supposing that your sanction and the customary *purwanas* for his accommodation are all that are required, should his trip take place before an answer can be received from the Presidency.

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131. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 119, dated the 27th of February 1812.*

Return of Colonel Ochterlony from the wedding of Ranjit Singh's son.

I have the honor to report my return to this post yesterday.

2. During the whole of my march to Umritser I experienced the good effect of Runjeet's orders in the attention

of his people to the wants of my escort in the ready supply of grass, wood, &c., and on my arrival there was received with marked respect, by his sending Futteh Sing and his Dewan, Mohkum Chund, to meet me at a considerable distance, and coming himself when about half a mile from my camp. **Return of Colonel Ochterlony from the wedding of Ranjit Singh's son.**

3. During my stay he seemed to seek occasion to express his confidence in and good-will towards the British Government and his personal respect and regard for myself.

4. On our return to Umritser after the celebration of the marriage he renewed his invitation to me to visit Lahore to see that city, the Royal Gardens, and the tomb of Jehangeer, and whilst there sent one of his confidential servants to see that we received every respect and attention, pointing out other places which he thought we might be desirous to see, and which might afford us amusement and protract our stay, which he expressed a wish might be during the *Hooly* festival.

5. It appeared to me, however, more advisable not to seem anxious to prolong our stay, and I contrived to have it hinted to him that, as we did not enter into the gaieties of the *Hooly* with all that spirit and hilarity which they did, I should only remain in compliance with his entreaties, but would prefer his acquiescence to my immediate return, which, having seen all I wished, I should solicit the day following.

6. In consequence of this intimation he acceded immediately to my request without affecting to press me to remain, evincing in this last, as in every previous, act the utmost attention to my wishes.

7. It may not be deemed improper to offer such observations as occurred to me during my late intercourse with Runjeet to the notice and consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, in which I shall endeavour to divest my mind from any bias it may have received from his great attention and from oft-repeated expressions of personal respect. Runjeet's ambition is as unbounded as his rapacity, and both incline him to annihilate the power of Futteh Sing, Jodh Sing, and his mother-in-law Sudda Koour, **Observations on Ranjit Singh's policy.**

Observations on Ranjit Singh's policy.

who alone he affects to acknowledge as Surdars, terming all other Chiefs in the Punjaub his servants; and, though, each of these are as subservient to him as ambition might require, his avarice demands more, and as his confidence increases in the non-interference of the British Government their fall may be expected. They are aware of his designs, but have not sufficient dependence on each other to form a league against him, and have no hopes that their union would have a beneficial result against his formidable battalions and artillery. His mind seems at present bent on an attempt on Cashmere, and it is I think probable that he will wait a year or two trying the forbearance of the British Government by these distant expeditions before he will venture to crush them entirely. From his conversations, in which he spoke with great candor of his failure on Mooltan, I should judge that he will wait an increase of power and resources before he makes another attempt on the fortress, but the Subadar must make him large remittances or expect the annual devastation of the country.

8. If Runjeet's opinions are decisively formed on any one subject they are on his utter *inability* to contend with the British arms; but the more firm *this belief* the more he is inclined to doubt the pacific *intentions of the* British Government, whose forbearance is *to* him incomprehensible, and these doubts are constantly kept alive by the Dewan Mohkum Chund and others, who I am inclined to suspect really feel the apprehensions they endeavour to instil.

9. It is only when coming from such quarters that Runjeet pays the least attention; for he more than once expressed himself as fully aware that there were those who *wished* a rupture between the two States, and prided himself on his own superior sagacity and prudence which had rejected their advice and opinions. Even the Dewan does not seem to have a great influence, though he treats his counsel with respect, supposing it well intended. Of this I hope I shall be pardoned for giving an instance. I received one day an intimation that he intended to ride on the banks of the Ravee in the evening, and a request that I would accompany him, which

I did, and we together inspected the exercise of his Telinga Corps and two Sikh battalions (which he has raised and is now training as he says the Telingas are too apt to desert), and after the inspection he invited me into an outwork by which he has connected the old Palace with the Jameh Musjid, and pointed out to me the works he had made and those he intended. I was surprised, on receiving the next day's newspaper, to observe that the Dewan and Gunda Sing, Safee, had that very morning remonstrated with him on his too great confidence and seeming attachment to me. He first said that I seemed a good kind of man, and spoke otherwise favorably, but on their observing that such was our way, that we only conciliated favor to deceive, and requesting him to be more on his guard, he replied that he had invited me to Lahore and must now show me every attention, but if they had given their advice before, he would not have asked me to come there.

10. It would have been improper to have taken advantage of his hospitality to examine the works too minutely, and all I can say is from a mere glance, that he has built and is building a very thick wall and rampart under the city with a deep and broad ditch, and that the palace is in like manner surrounded by a very deep and broad ditch, the whole faced with brick and the earth thrown inward, so as to form a very broad rampart with bastions at intervals at a considerable distance from the palace walls and in the nature of a rampart or fausse-braye in the forts of Hindoostan, but, if I am not mistaken, is very much commanded from the city side by heaps of old ruins which it will require great labor and expense to remove.

Defensive works at Lahore.

11. I must trust to that indulgence which I have so often experienced from His Lordship in Council if I now venture to trespass beyond the limits of my duty and with great diffidence suggest an idea formed on no inattentive observation of Runjeet himself and some trifling knowledge of the policy of the natives in general. At this moment when our European enemy has been expelled from every possession

Proposed engagement with Ranjit Singh to repel foreign invasion.

Proposed engagement with Ranjit Singh to repel foreign invasion.

in the East, when we are not aware of any reverse of fortune in Europe, and when there is no expectation of any invasion of our Asiatic dominions from the north-west, I would wish to propose to Runjeet the junction of a large British army with his own troops to repel the invaders, with such subsidiary propositions as His Lordship in his wisdom may think conducive to the object. It cannot be difficult to find arguments to prove to Runjeet that his own interests are deeply connected with ours should such an event occur, and I feel confident not only of his acquiescence, but that such a proposition, by showing him clearly *how* our interests were united, would of itself serve to dispel his suspicions. If he joined us cordially we might rely greatly on the country for our supplies. The greatest difficulty would perhaps be in getting him to relinquish *pro tempore* any places of strength in which we could store them; nor indeed does my information extend to a knowledge of what strongholds he possesses which would answer for such a purpose. In my late tour I did not see a fort which in my judgment would arrest a French army three days, but it could not escape me that for mere temporary purposes the Tomb of Jehangeer and its enclosure would contain grain and liquors sufficient for a month's expenditure of a large army.

12. When, however, I say that I feel confident of Runjeet's acquiescence in any such proposition at the present moment, I do not mean to assert that if the necessity occurred he would co-operate cordially or abstain from the usual temporising policy of the natives in corresponding with the enemy and assuring them of his good wishes, that in case of adverse fortune to us he might have a retreat for himself; but I think he would suppose his interests to be with us till that adverse fortune occurred, and to be allowed to meet the enemy in his country would be a great advantage gained.

13. If, as I have ventured to suppose, Runjeet should enter into such engagements as His Lordship may deem beneficial, one reason with him for so doing will be the distance and improbability of such an event occurring; but

if it should occur it gives us a positive right to enter the Punjaub, and it must depend on his own conduct and his own observance of his engagements whether we treat him as a friend or enemy; and, though it would doubtless be desirable to have him and his adherents on our side, I did not see anything in my late excursion which led me to think they would be a very formidable aid to our European enemy.

Intention of Ranjit Singh to proceed to Hardwár.

14. On the 10th instant I had the honor of informing the Resident of Dehli of Runjeet's ready acquiescence in Mr. Moorcroft's proposed visit and in the same letter mentioned his intention of proceeding with a thousand horse to Hurdwar in the month of *Bysakh*. Although he did not seem determined to carry this intention into effect, I should be glad to receive the early instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on this subject, and to know whether His Lords hip would approve my accompanying him should he repeat his invitations to this effect.

Expenditure incurred by Colonel Ochterlony on his visit to Lahore.

15. I have again to entreat His Lordship's indulgence for the above hurried but well intended observations, and shall now come to the most disagreeable result of my journey, which will be found in the accompanying bill for which I have this day drawn on the Resident of Dehli, and can only assure His Lordship, whilst I regret the extent of the amount, that I did everything in my power to lessen it as much as possible. But, though I went only as an individual and so far as he knew unsanctioned by Government, I found I could not give less than Rs. 5,000 as a marriage offering when the Rajahs Bhaug Sing and Juswunt Sing gave ten thousand each and Bhye Lall Sing seven thousand, besides very good elephants.

16. Besides this expense, which was beyond what I had expected in itself, I had also to receive, being our first meeting, a visit from Runjeet, who was so unconscionable as to burden me with the company of no less than fourteen of his Surdars, confidential servants and officers. It is the custom on all these occasions to send daily a sum of money to every guest: for this daily *zeafut* from my arrival at, until our

Expenditure incurred by Colonel Ochterlony on his visit to Lahore.

return to, Umritser after the celebration of the marriage I have given credit, as well as for the articles received by myself, but they still leave a heavier balance than I had any idea of when I solicited leave to accept the invitation, and which I can only say I found absolutely unavoidable.

ENCLOSURE TO 131.

The Hon'ble Company—Dr.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To expenses incurred at the celebration of the marriage of the son of Maha Rajah Runjeet Sing . . .	19,877	5	9
Deduct cash and value of presents received	12,136	0	0
Balance .	7,741	5	9

132. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 120, dated the 29th of February 1812.*

Account of expenditure incurred on Colonel Ochterlony's visit to Lahore.

SINCE transmitting my dispatch No. 119 it has occurred to me that a more particular detail of receipts[1] and expenditure on my late visit to Lahore may be thought necessary and proper. I therefore do myself the honor of presenting an account of particulars for His Lordship's notice, consideration and approbation.

Application of Ranjit Singh for muskets.

2. I likewise omitted to mention that Runjeet Sing very earnestly repeated to me his desire to obtain permission to purchase 500 muskets *in*, and a passport for their uninterrupted conveyance *through*, the Company's territory. I told him what I had before written, that I did not believe such a number were procurable even in Calcutta; but, as he very often introduced this subject and expressed great anxiety, I promised to address Government on the subject to request that my agents in Calcutta might be allowed to purchase and send me that number on his account.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

3. I do not know whether His Lordship may think the friendship of Runjeet so important as to deem it worthy of such an expense, but I am confident that it would be the most acceptable present that could be made him, and I therefore take the liberty to mention that his wants might be easily supplied by authorising me to indent on the Dehli Magazine; but if this should not be deemed proper and muskets are purchasable at the Presidency, I have the honor to request His Lordship will be pleased to sanction the purchase of that number and to grant the necessary passports for their passage to Loodeana.

Application of Ranjit Singh for muskets.

4. In making this request I perhaps show too great a desire to comply with the wishes of the Chief of Lahore, and it may not reflect much credit on my discernment that I show much anxiety on this subject; but I must confess that, looking forward to possible events, I do attach considerable importance to the acquirement of his entire confidence and good-will by every means in our power, at the same time that I believe the indulgence requested will rather diminish than increase his means of annoyance should he ever be so disposed, as his resources, though greatly increased, are not so abundant as to afford an augmentation of Infantry without a considerable reduction of his Horse.

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133. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 20th of March 1812.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 119, dated the 27th ultimo. [1]

Orders of Government on Colonel Ochterlony's report on his visit to Lahore.

2. Your report of the distinguished marks of attention and respect with which you were treated during your excursion to the Punjaub and of Rajah Runjeet Sing's deportment towards you is highly satisfactory to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, as they afford unquestionable evidence of the Rajah's solicitude to cultivate the friendship of the British Government, and of the complete

[1] 131 *supra*.

Orders of Government on Colonel Ochterlony's report on his visit to Lahore.

eradication from his mind of every sentiment of jealousy and suspicion with regard to the views and disposition of that Government; and His Lordship in Council has great pleasure in ascribing this desirable condition of our relations with Runjeet Sing in a material degree to the prudence and ability with which you have discharged the duties of your situation at Lodhiana and with which you conducted yourself on your late visit to the Rajah.

3. Your observations respecting the character, the views, the power and situation of Runjeet Sing are considered to be valuable and important, and His Lordship in Council conceives that your visit has been productive of material benefit to the publick interests.

4. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves your having submitted to his consideration the arrangement described in the 11th, 12th and 13th paragraphs of your dispatch, and wishes you to understand that he is at all times desirous of receiving from the officers of Government an unreserved communication of their sentiments on questions within the sphere of their observation and experience. His Lordship in Council, however, entertains considerable doubts of the expediency of conveying to the Rajah the proposition which you have suggested. He is disposed to infer from the character and disposition of the Rajah that the political connection with the State of Lahore is not at present susceptible of any other improvement than that which arises from the progressive confirmation of the Rajah's confidence in our justice, moderation and friendship, and that it would not be prudent to incur the hazard of losing this advantage (which Government apprehends might be the effect of any proposition for a change in our existing political relations) by prosecuting a negotiation of which the success must certainly be considered doubtful, and which has reference to very distant and precarious events; whilst even the accomplishment of its immediate object would not probably secure to us any advantages not attainable at a season of exigency, if the interests of the Rajah should incline him to afford them,—advantages which

in a contrary case he would certainly counteract without regard to the obligation of his antecedent engagements.

3. The Resident at Dehli has reported to Government the desire of the Rajah to visit Hurdwar, and the Resident has been instructed, in the event of the Rajah's fulfilling that intention, to manifest towards him every possible demonstration of regard and attention. I am directed to add, however, that in the same event His Lordship in Council deems it highly advisable that you should accompany the Rajah, not only with a view to do him honor and to facilitate his progress with every degree of convenience, but also to be a channel of communication between the Rajah and any of the officers of Government through whose jurisdiction he may have occasion to pass, and to prevent or adjust any disputes that may occur between his people and the inhabitants of the country. Desire of Ranjit Singh to visit Hardwár.

6. The Governor-General in Council considers the expenses incurred by you on your visit to the Rajah to be as moderate as was practicable consistently with political objects, and has directed the charge to be passed. Expenditure incurred by Colonel Ochterlony.

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134. *From J. MONCKTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to Government, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 15th of April 1812.*

HAVING submitted to Government the application of the Rajah of Lahore for permission to purchase 500 muskets, communicated in your private letter to my address of the 27th of December last, and also a similar application conveyed through the Rajah's Envoy, Baba Mihr Buksh, I am directed to inform you that, as the exportation of arms is prohibited by the Regulations of Government, the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council prefers supplying the arms from the public stores to granting permission for the purchase of them in the market of Calcutta, and that orders have accordingly been issued to the Commissary at Agra to furnish from the Arsenal of that place 500 muskets, complete with bayonets and ramrods, the expense of which, amounting to Sicca rupees 14,500, is to be charged to Rajah Runjeet Sing. Supply of muskets to the Raja of Lahore.

2. You will be pleased to communicate with the Commissary of Stores at Agra on the subject of the safest and most expeditious mode of transporting the arms to Lodhiana, whence they may be conveyed to Lahore under charge of Baba Mihr Buksh, who left the Presidency on the 3rd instant on his return to that capital.

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135. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political Department,—No. 128, dated Camp Putteealah, the 8th of May 1812.*

Report by Colonel Ochterlony on affairs at Patiála.

LEAVING Loodeana strongly impressed with an opinion of the tractability of Rajah Saheb Sing's disposition and of his sincerity in the negotiations with the Ranee, I supposed I should only have to inspire him with confidence, and to counteract the designs of a selfish party that it was not at all necessary to lessen the influence and authority of the Rajah, but only to render it of use and benefit by giving him ministers who, having an interest in the prosperity of his country, would have only to point out to him the advantages to be derived from any new regulation to ensure his concurrence and support.

2. These opinions were founded on the experience of the past administration of the Ranee, who, abstaining from all interference in matters where she knew him to be uncontroulable, such as his elephants and private expenses, had contrived to introduce greater order in the country at large, and had been particularly successful in the Revenual Department.

3. By throwing money into his treasury she seemed to have excited a desire to economize, and whilst I trusted to time and her influence to improve these sentiments, I came forward boldly with propositions which, so far from limiting the authority of the Rajah, gave him more than I hope he would ever exercise, and more than he had ever seemed to desire.

4. It was consequently long before I even suspected that the opposition I met sprang from any other source than

Report by Colonel Ochterlony on affairs at Patiála.

the suggestions of an interested faction or from absurd apprehensions of attempts upon his life. I knew the latter to be groundless, unjust and preposterous, whether applied to the Ranee's party or the other; but unprepared for cunning or falsehood in him, I listened to them with credulity and commiseration, and gave him every possible assurance of his safety and security. It is only lately I have had reason to suspect that these fears were mere pretexts for evasion and delay; that the negociations carrying on with the Ranee were never for the purpose of her reinstatement in the management; that, if they went further than a desire to effect a real reconciliation and secure an oblivion of injury, it was to lull her into confidence and security in order to place her, the Misser and Moonshy Kishen Chund in restraint, if not to be carried to greater and more atrocious consequences.

5. The latter part has been hinted as a suspicion, but a party from whom the insinuation is received is not entitled to credit, and the only corroboration they offer in support of it is the circumstance of Rajah Bhaug Sing's being requested to effect the Ranee's return without the intervention of Sody Soorjun Sing, and this request I have reason to believe was never made; it is denied by Bhaug Sing, and, beside the impossibility of his calling on me for such a purpose, it is certain that all the Rajah's negociations before my arrival were in concert with the Sody, and I only mention it to shew the depravity of the people I have to deal with and what falsehoods they will be guilty of at the moment that they will suffer the more probable fact to escape them in saying that the Ranee was to be recalled and reconciled for the purpose of occasionally holding out her reinstatement *in terrorem*. There appears to be more truth in the assertion that Saheb Sing never seriously intended the restoration of the Ranee to power. During the first part of her administration he was pleased with its good effects, and he was gratified by the extraordinary circumstance of having money at command, instead of anticipating his revenue on every occasion by *tunkhas* on his villages; but the insidious praises bestowed on her management by those who

Report by Colonel Ochterlony on affairs at Patiála.

understood his disposition soon effected their purpose and excited the jealousy which caused her dismissal, which prevails in all its force at the present moment, and which has been strengthened and confirmed by the object of my mission.

6. It is this jealousy as a predominant passion, operating on a weak or rather an insane mind, which opposes me at every step, and, though those principals who first excited the flame are withdrawn (if they are truly withdrawn or even neutral) it is easy to find fuel to keep it alive, and even my own exertions must have that tendency in proportion as their object is to promote the welfare of his country or his individual advantage through the superintendency of the Ranee.

7. To this perverse passion may be attributed the secret and positive orders to Goordeal to throw every possible obstacle in the way of investigation, to bring forward complaints of oppressive demands; to this may be ascribed his having given assignments to a greater amount than last assessment, to prevent the sums reaching the treasury and thereby coming to my knowledge; and to this is owing the more effectual measure of discontinuing the *kutcherry* and the transaction of business. The two last measures demanded immediate attention, and in the evening of yesterday I sent him the letter of which No. 1 is a translation,[1] and which about 7 o'clock produced a visit.

8. I received him with the greatest coolness, and when he began to talk as usual of his obedience and anxiety to carry into effect the wishes of the British Government I told him that I was no longer to be deceived by words; that, unprepared for so much artifice and cunning in him, I had hitherto been too credulous, but I was now fully acquainted with his conduct, his intentions and his motives; and I requested he would never talk to me again on this subject, as it was my intention that all business should be done in writing and transmitted to the Sudder, who would judge of his conduct and mine. He again assured me everything should be done, requested my hand, and declared I was his best friend *(Moorubbee)*. I

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Report by Colonel Ochterlony on affairs at Patiála.

declined to give him my hand, and told him I was only the friend of those who obeyed the orders of Government. If (he said) I comply with the orders, will your kindness return? I answered that when I had no just cause of complaint perhaps it might, but it would not be very easy now to efface the sentiments he had excited, which were totally changed from what they had been when I supposed him really influenced by bad men and foolish apprehensions; that he had played his part very well, and deceived me long, but it could not be done again; and I told him he might suppose his object very secret, but I knew of his orders to Goordeal to obstruct all business (*roula kurna*), the pretended flight of Goojar Sing, which was only with his permission and license to make collections from his own country, and in short of everything that he wished to keep from me; and I could now only tell him that I required a written reply to my letter, and that I was determined not to leave Putteealah till I saw a sure prospect of the future good government of his country.

9. To effect this, however, and in any degree to cleanse this Augean Stable will be, I fear, impracticable without a certain authoritative interference in internal details, which I had never contemplated whilst unacquainted with the motives of his conduct, and whilst I supposed it only necessary to eject bad men from his councils and place able and upright men about him, who need only shew him advantages to secure his concurrence and receive his support, at least so far as to issue his *purwanas* for the purpose required. This hope no longer exists, and in its room I have only the lamentable certainty of his encouraging and rejoicing in every circumstance which thwarts the Ranee in her attempts at improvement, though ruinous to himself. Permit me here to pause and ask His Lordship in Council what I can do with a man who has actually ordered two Corps of Boys to be maintained at an expense of a rupee a day, to be clothed in broadcloth, who selected two parties of these boys and ordered their little guns to be actually loaded with pieces of lead and iron, and to confront and fire on each other as representations of a British Army and Runjeet's, and will His Lordship

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believe that was really done, and two of the boys so much wounded as to be carried off the field of action?

10. To me, on the spot, it appeared so incredible that I positively refused my belief, and I now write it on the most positive conviction of the fact.

11. It has been proved to me that he gave ten rupees to one who was wounded in the thigh and five to one who was shot through the calf of the leg, and that this madman, always apprehensive of danger to himself, looked on from an upper window whilst these children were to butcher each other in play.

12. As I cannot expect the Right Honorable the Governor-General will condescend to bestow his attention on all the extravagancies of this man as detailed in the extracts I have the honor to transmit, I beg leave to copy into the body of this letter the following detail of what occurred after leaving me last night, to shew how far he attends to advice, and in what manner he proposes to deceive me even in follies which I should never have noticed to His Lordship but for their unfortunate consequences :—

"Leaving the Colonel, he went to Burkut Ali Khan's house, spoke to him of the interview he had with him, and of his seeming great displeasure, expressed himself desirous of acting in conformity to his wishes, and complained of the continual instigations of others. Afterwards went to Khalifa Golam Russool's house, who recommended him to conduct himself properly and to leave off his childish amusements, as his follies were told to all quarters, and the Colonel was at his door, and would hear of them, and it was particularly absurd to keep such a number of boys as *sepahies*. He promised to conduct himself with more caution and abide by his advice, and this morning told the boys not to come so often, but to keep their clothes, and when the Colonel went away they should come as usual."

13. The translation No. 2[1] is the Rajah's reply to my letter, just received, and I have intimated my assent to wait

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

the time required, at the expiration of which, if I am again deceived, I propose to call on the Ranee to nominate the necessary *aumla* and to conduct the business with or without the concurrence of the Rajah.

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136. *To N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political Department,—demi-official dated 19th May 1812.*

Dear Sir,

Attempt on the life of Colonel Ochterlony at Patiála.

From the day of the receipt of my letter the Rajah appeared to be seriously inclined to attend to many parts of it; had recommenced or suffered the business of the *kutcherry* to recommence; had expressed his satisfaction at some additional advances admitted by zemeendars and given his consent to the reduction of about three hundred foot soldiers in different garrisons. Yesterday whilst they were conducting business I received intimation that he had introduced about a hundred armed men into the *kutcherry*, and as the circumstance was quite unusual and each party are suspicious of the other they seemed inclined to discontinue and asked my opinion. I sent them word that as it was impossible to account for the strange suspicions that entered the wild imagination of the Rajah, it would be best to disregard the circumstance altogether and proceed as if nothing unusual had happened till the usual hour of breaking up. In the evening as I was going to dinner in my palanquin, from an old garden house or *barrah durry* which I occupy, to the Rajah's, which is inhabited by my son and daughter and where the officers with me eat their meals, I was attacked by a fellow, who stepping up briskly to the palanquin put his matchlock into the door of the palanquin. I immediately seized it and threw the muzzle towards the opposite door and jumping out wrenched it out of his hand, or rather I believe he quitted it himself to draw his sword, which I seized luckily so close to the hilt that he had not power to use it before the *chobdars* and *hurkarrahs*, who were some little distance in front, had come to my assistance and with some difficulty and struggle at last made him leave the sword in

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my hand. The fingers of my left hand in which I held the sword are considerably cut, but I have received no other injury. The rascal was pinioned and conveyed to the two companies, who had got under arms on an alarm from some of my *hurkarrahs*, and proved to be a young man of about twenty, but so intoxicated that it was impossible to gain any information. Rajah Saheb Sing paid me a visit in the greatest agitation the instant he received the intelligence and seemed to receive my assurances that I acquitted him of all concern in the business with great joy. I am now of the same opinion, but there is certainly a degree of mystery hanging over it. Through never having injured any one, I am totally at a loss where to direct my suspicions. The man is an inhabitant of the Munja Doab; is not he says in any service, was not employed by any one, came about five days since from Naubeh and can only account for his attempt by saying it was his fate. He creates suspicion, however, by refusing to give any account where he has resided or fed since he arrrived here. Yet, had my assassination been in the contemplation of any one, could it have been productive of any possible benefit to any one, it might have been effected any day and every day since my arrival as my *chobdars* and *hurkarrahs*, all unarmed, are my only retinue and the half of them are very seldom (and were *not last* night) in attendance.

I do not know whether to apologize for troubling you at all with this incident or for giving it in an unofficial form, as I certainly do not believe the Rajah to have the slightest participation in it. There are only two people, Maie Kaim Koour and Soojen Sing, who I think capable of such an atrocious act, and as I cannot see what good they could possibly promise themselves from my death, I very much incline to think they are innocent, and I should have no doubt on the subject if the man had related one story, but he first accused the Ranee's confidential servant, Misser Noudah, and again said it was his own act meditated for three days; then that it was the thought of the instant and directed by fate. That it was not the suggestion of the moment is evident from

his having his match ready lighted and from his being on the road where I constantly pass every evening to and from dinner. Attempt on the life of Colonel Ochterlony at Patiála.

I have only to request, if any apology is necessary for seeming to give importance to this occurrence, that you will consider one of my objects is to acquit this unfortunate madman of any share in it, and believe me,

Dear Sir,
Yours very obediently,
D. OCHTERLONY,
Agent, Governor-General.

May 19th, 1812.

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137. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to C. T. METCALFE, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated Camp Patiala, the 25th of May 1812.*

GOVERNMENT on the opinion of the Judge Advocate-General having recently determined that the inhabitants of this country cannot legally be punished for the crime of highway robbery, or in fact for any crime, by the sentence of a General Court Martial, I have been induced to send the assassin who attempted my life to the Officer Commanding at Kurnaul, with a request "that he may be forwarded under a proper guard to the Resident of Delhi," in the hope that, if the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General does not conceive him amenable to your jurisdiction, His Lordship may deem it proper in this particular case to issue such orders as in his wisdom may appear most likely to prevent his repetition of a similar crime. Trial of the assassin who attempted the life of Colonel Ochterlony.

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138. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political Department,—No. 130, dated the 31st of May 1812.*

IN my private letter of the____instant I had the honor to mention that, for two days preceding, Rajah Saheb Sing had shewn a serious disposition to carry into effect all the arrangements proposed in my letter, and had acknowledged repeatedly their utility and necessity. Report on the state of affairs at Patiála.

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2. He had even gone so far as to express his concern and surprise that he should have protracted a settlement which in every point was obviously for his own advantage. He had, however, scarcely expressed this sentiment and sanctioned the striking off of 300 men *nominally* in garrisons before it was insidiously suggested to him that this reduction was only to make room for an equal number of the Ranee's and to give them possession of the places.

3. It was in vain that it was stated to him that this measure was only intended to strike off men from pay who were useless and in most cases did not exist; that so far from wishing to replace them by others, the principal object was to dismantle the places entirely as useless and unnecessary in the present state of the country.

4. He was deaf to reason, and countermanded the orders he had given, and Bhye Lall Sing and Rajah Bhaug Sing called on me on the 24th to say that, until those low wretches were removed or punished, any attempt at reform was impossible. Whilst I was discussing this point with them, and shewing how inefficacious such proceedings must be, as there would always start up some equally low wretches to supply their place and instil suspicion into such a mind as the Rajah's, his approach was announced, and before I could give directions to say I was not at leisure to receive his visit, or recover from the vexation which this discussion and his conduct had occasioned, he entered the room.

5. I received him with great coolness, and on his asking me in the manner of the country after my health, *i.e.*, whether I was *razee* or content, I bluntly told him no; and on his asking why, I said he could not possibly be at a loss to know why, if he was capable of reflecting on his own conduct.

6. He began with the usual string of words which he repeats by rote without seeming to attach any meaning, and I interrupted him by saying that I was tired of hearing them; that my patience and forbearance and the desire to effect his benefit through himself had already exposed my life to danger,

and I must plainly tell him that the knowledge I had acquired in six weeks had only convinced me that he was incapable and unworthy of possessing any power or authority; that before he had gone a hundred yards from the room in which we sat, the suggestions of a *chobdar* or an *arrack* seller would overturn all his resolutions and make him violate every promise that he made. He solemnly declared his determination to do everything I had pointed out, expressed his conviction of their utility and of my good intentions, and requested Bhye Lall Sing and Rajah Bhaug Sing would instantly proceed with him to the fort and not only see him, but assist him in carrying them into effect.

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7. He only begged to be assured that my displeasure would cease when the work was completed. I told him that it would, and that all I had done was only for his own advantage.

8. They all left me at the same time and desired my Head Moonshy might accompany them. For two days they attended, and he not only approved of many reductions of subsistence which was received under various heads by the same persons, but pointed out numbers of them which had not even his sanction or authority, and expressed his displeasure at the Dewan for ever paying such unlicensed charges.

9. But on the third day, when a list had been made out under his own directions, which, without depriving a single individual of a certain maintenance under a settled system, had effected a reduction of fifty thousand rupees annually, he refused to sign or sanction it, and told his Moonshy that he now saw the drift of their whole proceeding was only to annihilate his authority; that the reduction in the subsistence was to deprive him of his best friends, the reduction of sepoys only to replace them by their own, and to render the Rohillas disaffected to him, and to bring them over to the Ranee; and he gave orders for an additional guard to be placed on the passage to an upper room, where he desired not to be interrupted by any one, and that Bhye Lall Sing should not be admitted into the fort. These proceedings were immediately

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communicated to me, and I received either that day or the following morning the joint letter from Bhye Lall Sing and Bhaug Sing, of which No. 1[1] is a translation.

10. Hitherto the poison had been so artfully and secretly infused that it was always doubtful whether the Rajah's unjustifiable and absurd suspicions were the suggestions of others or of his own wild and disordered imagination, but they were here traced to the lowest menials about his person and the most contemptible of the inhabitants of Putteealah, and their influence was proved to be superior to mine, united with Rajah Bhaug Sing, whom he had detained, and Bhye Lall Sing, whom he had called to give him their advice and assistance.

11. I had perhaps carried forbearance to weakness, and my patience was misconceived to be timidity. It was I confess even liable to that interpretation, but I had till now never relinquished the hope of inducing him by entreaty, advice, and occasional expressions of displeasure to become the ostensible instrument of the projected arrangements, and I wished it to be most clear and obvious throughout the country that the Paramount authority of the British Government had not been exercised without an absolute and imperious necessity.

12. That time in my humble judgment was now arrived, and I wrote off to Colonel Reade to direct three companies and two battalion guns to join me by easy marches, and on the day following addressed to General Marshall the letter of which No. 2 is a copy,[1] and by the same dawk requested the Officer Commanding at Kurnaul to send me a battalion with its guns and two 18-pounders.

13. On the arrival of this force I propose to issue the Proclamation in substance similar to No. 3[1] of this dispatch, but perhaps modified by the circumstances and appearances of the moment, and I should hope, and at this moment believe, that it will at once leave the Rajah with so few troops that he will not think of opposition.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

14. Should, however, the event prove contrary to my expectations, I most humbly presume to hope that His Lordship in Council will honor my conduct with approbation, and, making every allowance for the strange and novel situation in which I have been placed, will be pleased to allow that at least I have not been deficient in forbearance, and that if I have erred it has only proceeded from a defect of judgment, and a perhaps too anxious desire to shew the British Government as mild, as powerful, and unwilling to exert their just prerogative until representation, persuasion and argument had failed of their proper effect.

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15. Whilst the Rajah entertains, or affects to entertain, the most absurd and unjust apprehensions for his own security, the multiplication of guards and introduction of armed men, particularly of Rohillas and Akalies, into the fort excite real and perhaps well-founded alarm to the Ranee.

16. Since the attempt mentioned in my private letter of the 19th, she has been in constant terror, and asserts that the guarantee of the Sody and all the promises of the Rajah cannot alter her apprehensions of people who are capable of instigating attempts of such an atrocious nature on a British officer, who had uniformly studied the interests of the Rajah, and, so far from showing a partiality to her, had acceded to terms more unfavorable to her than she would have obtained through the medium of their own tribe and brethren.

17. I cannot easily bring myself to believe that the Rajah actually meditates any design against her, or that he has any other object than to guard against the machinations which these villains have led him to suspect, but at the same time it must be admitted that she has much cause of alarm, and that there is no foreseeing the result of the suspicions they have instilled.

18. I have in consequence recommended her to desire the Sody, who is her only safeguard at present, to represent to the Rajah that, as he has not fulfilled one jot of his promises to me, it is better she should return to Sunnour, where her security in her own fort will be certain, and

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the apprehensions he entertains of a helpless and unguarded woman will cease; or, if he should make objections to this arrangement, to form such an interest with the troops the Rajah has introduced that in case of his giving any improper orders respecting her they may at once refuse to carry them into effect and prove her security instead of her annoyance.

19. The Rajah wrote me yesterday (the 30th), requesting to pay me a visit, and stating that he had something particular to say, and I replied that I had before told him I declined all conversation on business, and requested him to make any communications he wished in writing. He has again addressed me this day, and desired me to send my Moonshy, to which I have replied that the same objection exists to all kinds of verbal intercourse through any channel, and whatever he had to say must be committed to paper.

20. The measures I have now adopted will, I hope, secure the object by their formidable appearance, and I trust without anything more than their appearance, and, though I am not sorry for having delayed them so long, I am most conscientiously of opinion that they are the only ones calculated to give permanency to the proposed reform; and in this opinion I am supported by Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing, who are better acquainted with what is going on and assure me that, if the Rajah had carried on the appearance of acceding to everything himself, they firmly believe that if they had not been overturned before I reached Loodeana they would not have lasted long after it, and that the Rajah in his conduct towards me has only acted as he has invariably done on every occasion when any attempt has been made to settle his affairs, always pertinaciously adhering to the advice of those who sought only their own advantage in preference to that of others who wished only to secure his own interests.

21. In addition to the effect which I trust my forbearance will have produced on the country at large, I feel a degree of satisfaction in having removed from my own mind every doubt respecting the Rajah's utter incapacity and insanity, which had been at times shaken by the reports of my

agents and even by my own observations, as I could not possibly reconcile the seeming knowledge of right to the constant practice of wrong, and what I ought perhaps to have considered the most positive proof of real insanity I erroneously supposed to be a ray of reason.

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22. I should have mentioned, but it did not occur to me when writing the first part of this dispatch, that the visit of Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing on the 24th was by my own appointment, and in consequence of their letters of which Nos. 4 and 5 are translations.[1]

23. Major Gascoigne with the three companies and guns from Loodeana will arrive to-morrow, and I have received a letter from Major Morrell, Commanding the Detachment from Kurnaul, mentioning that he shall arrive on the 5th instant.

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139. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Political Department,—No. 133, dated Loodeana, the 19th of June 1812.*

Further report on the state of affairs at Patiála.

IN my dispatch No. 132, under date the 7th instant, I had the honor to detail all the proceedings at Putteealah up to that date, and to mention that experience had taught me not to place any confidence in the promises of Rajah Saheb Sing until they were actually performed. It soon appeared that his orders to the *Killadars* were partly deceptions, as a most positive refusal was given to the *Killadar* of one of his strongest forts (Dhoda) to admit the troops of the Ranee Aus Koour.

2. Whilst there was the least hope that the Rajah could be induced to adhere to his engagements contained in the five articles signed on the 15th April, or the slightest expectation could be entertained that the Ranee would by degrees attain her former influence, she had most willingly acceded to relinquish all authority over the forts, and I had with her consent conceded this point to the Rajah; but when he himself had violated every article which he had stipulated on his own part, and had from the first moment to the last

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Further report on the state of affairs at Patiála.

made the worst possible use of the degree of authority I had voluntarily offered, it became essential to the Ranee, if vested with the superintendency, to have the entire controul of all appointments, civil and military.

3. It was put beyond a doubt that, whatever might have been his original inclinations to place her in power, he possessed them no longer, and, so far from feeling such a desire, indulged a strong and rancourous enmity, which knowingly (so far as his intellect admitted of knowledge), decidedly and declaredly preferred the ruin of the Raj and the enormous peculations of all his servants to any interference on her part.

4. So soon as I was informed of the refusal of the *Killadar* of Dhoda to admit the Ranee's troops, I wrote to the Rajah requesting he would give peremptory orders for its delivery, and stating to him the intention of sending British troops to enforce it if it was not given up, and at the same time informing him that till the fort was in the Ranee's possession it would place me under a necessity of imposing a greater degree of personal restraint on him than had ever been in my contemplation or my wish; independent of this, that the march of a British detachment would subject him to the loss of his property, which I heard was considerable, and which it could not be in my power to save, if taken by storm.

5. He most solemnly declared that the *Killadar* was acting in direct contradiction to his orders, and desired I would defer the march of a detachment till he could repeat his orders, and pretended to send off people for that purpose, who returned still with a peremptory refusal from the *Killadar*, and it was imagined the Rajah had given private instructions not to deliver up the fort but to a particular person with a special token. It was even thought this had been discovered, and the particular person and the special token were sent by the Rajah without effect. Finding every measure without success, I at last most reluctantly found myself under a necessity of sending Major Morrell with the 1st Battalion 27th, two 18-pounders, and four sixes, with the Grenadier and Light companies of the 2nd Battalion, 13th, whose instructions will

be seen in the documents transmitted with this dispatch[1] ; and I had reason to hope that the first day's march would induce the man to deliver over the fort to the Ranee, if there was the least truth in the declarations of the Rajah, who still persisted in the most solemn declarations that the *Killadar* was acting in disobedience of his orders. The detachment, however, proceeded to Dhoda, and Major Morrell summoned the *Killadar*, but received only evasive answers, which compelled him to construct an 18-pounder Battery, which, having played near an hour, induced the man to admit the *Killadar* appointed by the Ranee, and not a rupee's worth of property was lost by the Rajah, nor was any damage sustained but what was done by the Battery to the walls, which was indeed very considerable and sufficient to convince the people within that another hour would open a road for an assault.

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6. The *Killadar* came to me at Putteealah immediately after the surrender, and his answers to my enquiries were that he had been sent off on the 4th of June with the most peremptory orders not on any account to give up the fort to the Ranee's people, whatever instructions he might subsequently receive from the Rajah himself, and that he afterwards received a message by a woman, who brought a ruby ring as the token of her being sent by the Rajah respecting his original orders, on no account to deliver the fort to Ranee Aus Koour's people till the last extremity; that if he did not receive supplies of cash he was at liberty to dispose of the property in the fort, and should he find himself at length compelled to give up to the Ranee he was particularly ordered to burn or destroy the whole *Toshuck Khana.* At the same time she mentioned that she was ordered to tell him that it was said British troops would march against the place, but it was only to frighten him, and he was not even then to give up the place till he was perfectly convinced that they were serious. The whole of these orders and the anticipation of the demand of all the forts render it perfectly clear that they were far beyond the Rajah's intellects, and, though they do not admit of proof, can only be imputed to the Ranee Purtap Koour, her brother Dull Sing,

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

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Googir Sing and the low wretches whom she had enlisted in her party, and who unhappily have always possessed an unbounded influence over the weak and insane mind of Saheb Sing.

7. The officer who went into the fort with our sepoys till the Ranee's *Killadar* and people could arrive delivered over the place exactly as they found it, and even the toys, wooden and earthen, consisting of elephants, tigers, male and female figures, &c., with which the Rajah was accustomed to amuse himself, remained unmolested.

8. Expecting the early surrender of the place, I had directed Major Morrell to proceed immediately on his return to Kurnaul with the detachment from that place, and the two companies of the 13th to join me at Allowal on our progress to this post, and before my departure wrote to Rajah Saheb Sing informing him that the lands of Chumkoian had been bestowed on his son, and to the Ranee recommending her particular attention to the duties of the trust, which had been reposed in her, and to the comfort of the Rajah, and gave her in English and Persian a declaration of exemption from all *peishkush* and *nuzerana*, and to all the officers, civil and military, a precept purporting that the Ranee would protect, support and continue them in their respective jageers and offices, if they did not forfeit them by disobedience or misbehaviour.

9. I left Putteealah on the 15th and arrived here this morning, and it is with great satisfaction that I can assure His Lordship in Council that the arrangements which have been made of the affairs of Rajah Saheb Sing are such as meet with general approbation on this side the Sutledge, and what the several Surdars say ought to have been, and would have been, made long since had there been any one sufficiently powerful and disinterested to have carried it into execution; and the Chiefs more particularly connected with the Rajah have assured me repeatedly that they are the only ones which would have been effectual, as had the Rajah's advisers only suffered him to act on my original proposals so long as to

induce my earlier return to this place, he would ultimately have compelled the steps, or most probably have been instigated to do something which would have involved many in danger, if not have cost them their lives.

Further report on the state of affairs at Patiála.

10. As time has increased my knowledge of Rajah Saheb Sing's character, his insanity has been more and more confirmed, and his disposition has appeared worse, and, though I cannot absolutely accuse him, I do not feel so confident of my right to acquit him of all knowledge of the atrocious attempt at assassination as when I had the honor to address you privately on the 19th ultimo.[1] If he was not informed of it, I now think that it was only because his insanity might have discovered it, and not from any idea he would have withheld his consent to the murder if it had been suggested as a means of freeing him from the proposed superintendency of the Ranee and the consequent reforms, to which he all along evinced the most decided aversion, while he strongly confessed its advantages; and it often seemed to appear that, if the Raj could have been left in the same ruinous state and his people permitted to plunder *ad libitum*, he did not so much regard who was Superintendent as dislike all and every salutary regulation.

11. The translation of the accompanying papers during a march has occasioned a greater delay than I apprehended or could have wished, but, as they were necessary to elucidate my proceedings, I hope I shall be excused.

140. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,— dated the 4th of July 1812.*

Orders of the Governor-General in Council on affairs at Patiála.

Your dispatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin, relative to the affairs of Putteealah, have been received in regular succession and have been perused by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council with a peculiar degree of interest and attention.

No. 125, dated 27th April.
No. 127, dated 5th May.
No. 128, dated 8th May.
No 129, dated 17th May.
No. 130, dated 31st May.
No. 131, dated 5th June.
No 132, dated 7th June.

[1] 136 *supra.*

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2. Such has been the intricacy, uncertainty and fluctuation of events and transactions in that quarter that no essential purpose could have been promoted by a communication of the sentiments and instructions of Government founded on any of the stages of your measures and proceedings represented in your several dispatches antecedent to the last of those above acknowledged. His Lordship in Council therefore judged it proper to suspend a reply to any of your reports until apprized of the arrangements in progress having assumed a form in some degree conclusive, when a general retrospect of events and proceedings would enable Government to frame a decisive opinion of the various points submitted to its deliberation and to found its instructions on an order of things relieved from the influence of daily vicissitude. At the same time I am directed to observe that the judgment of His Lordship in Council on the distinguished merits of your conduct has not been reserved until he should obtain a knowledge of the success or failure of your measures, which during their progress have uniformly appeared to be regulated by sound discretion, able discernment, ardent zeal and indefatigable exertion.

3. *Although, at the date of the instructions* which authorized a decided interference on the part of Government with a view to compose the distractions and remedy the disorders existing in the administration of *Putteealah*, your reports had afforded reason to expect that this desirable object would be accomplished without coercion, yet the spirit of those instructions warranted the adoption of coercive measures if the alternative should be found to be a perpetuation of the evils which our interference was intended to remove; and in this point of view events have demonstrated the absolute necessity of resorting to measures of that description. They have demonstrated also that our interference has been equally just, expedient and beneficial; that the general principle of abstaining from the exercise of any controul over the internal concerns of the several petty States placed under our protection between the Sutledge and the Jumna, which alone apparently opposed the policy of that interference, was

inapplicable to this particular case; and that more credit and confidence have been acquired by the interposition of our power and influence on this occasion than would have resulted from an opposite course of proceeding. The prudence and caution with which you have acted, and the patient forbearance which governed your conduct under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, delicacy and embarrassment, have essentially promoted this desirable result.

Orders of the Governor-General in Council on affairs at Patiála.

4. The strongest and most justifiable ground of our authoritative interference, namely, the actual derangement of the Rajah's intellect, however diversified by occasional indications of reason, appears to His Lordship in Council to have been conclusively established by the test of experience derived from your patient but successless endeavours to render him the instrument of that reform of which he admitted the necessity, approved the system and pledged himself to the execution by solemn and repeated acts. If the British Government had remained an inactive spectator of the progress of the existing evils, it is reasonable to conclude that, through intermediate outrage, anarchy and confusion, they would speedily have attained a crisis which must have invited or compelled the interference of some other power actuated by principles very different from those of a British administration, and directed to objects of which the prosperity of the country, the welfare of the people and the disinterested organization of the government would have formed an inconsiderable part. The views of individual interest and ambition would have been pursued by acts of violence and spoliation, and a state of affairs would probably have been produced of a nature ultimately to compel on our part the interference from which we had systematically abstained, under circumstances which would have augmented the disadvantage and difficulty without adding to the justice and credit of our exertions.

5. His Lordship in Council is satisfied that, in the judgment of all those whose distrust and apprehension might be supposed to be excited by the appearance of a departure from the professedly restrictive principles of our acknowledged

Orders of the Governor-General in Council on affairs at Patiála.

supremacy, the measures which have been pursued with views so manifestly disinterested and by gradations so demonstrative of a spirit of forbearance, moderation and equity, for the settlement of the disordered administration of Putteealah, must appear to have flowed from a sincere and anxious desire to protect and secure the interests and prosperity of the dependent States through the channel of their own authorities, and not the effect of a disposition to abridge the rights which we have guaranteed and employ our power for purposes either of aggrandizement or of profit.

6. Your prudence and discretion have been particularly conspicuous in associating Rajah Bhaug Sing and Bhye Lall Sing in your counsels and proceedings. Their deliberate opinions, the result of personal observation and exertion, give a sanction to the late measures and arrangements in the State of Putteealah which cannot fail to produce impressions highly favorable to the credit of our real views and intentions.

7. Having stated the Governor-General in Council's unqualified approbation of the whole of your proceedings as reported in the dispatches above acknowledged, it is unnecessary to advert to the details of them. It may be satisfactory to you, however, to signify His Lordship in Council's entire concurrence in the propriety and necessity of the precautionary measure of requiring a temporary reinforcement of troops from Kurnaul and of directing the march of an additional detachment from Lodhiana. You prudently abstained from the adoption of that measure until no alternative was left but the abandonment of the object which you had pursued with such unceasing toil and anxiety and with such persevering patience and arduous exertions,—an alternative which every consideration of dignity and publick interest unquestionably opposed.

8. His Lordship in Council considers you to have framed the arrangement for the administration of the State of Putteealah with the utmost practicable regard to the ease and comfort of the Rajah, whose conduct and unhappy state of mind and disposition would certainly have justified in a

practical and moral point of view, as well as in the eyes of his subjects and of all the neighbouring Chiefs, a limitation of his liberty and his indulgences which His Lordship in Council is happy to find has not appeared to you to be necessary.

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9. It is superfluous to add that the administration of the Ranee Aus Koor, as it has been established, so it must be supported by our power, if external support should be necessary. His Lordship in Council, however, trusts that the occupation of the forts by her garrisons, the patronage of her situation, the popularity of her character, the acknowledged incapacity of the Rajah, and the former experience and general impression of the benefits of her administration, aided by the countenance of the British Government, will enable her to maintain her authority without external assistance. Of the necessity either of maintaining a detachment of our troops at Putteealah for a limited period of time or of leaving an agent of your appointment, you will of course have formed your own judgment and acted accordingly. It is the wish of Government, however, that all appearance of controul and direction on our part in the internal affairs of the State should cease as soon as in your opinion the administration of the Ranee is sufficiently established to be independent of any ostensible support on the part of the British Government.

10. The measure of announcing to all the Sikh Chiefs the change in the administration and the circumstance which produced it, is entirely approved, as is also the tenor of the circular letter which you addressed to them on that subject.

11. The Governor-General in Council directs me to express to you on this occasion the deep interest and emotion with which he perused the narrative of the late atrocious attempt on your life contained in your private letter to my address of the 19th of May,[1] which letter His Lordship in Council has judged it proper to place on the records of Government. His Lordship in Council considers the preservation of a life, which he has ever been accustomed to hold

[1] 136 *supra*.

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in the highest possible estimation, from a danger so imminent to be a subject of publick congratulation, and His Lordship in Council cannot refrain from expressing his admiration of the intrepidity and self-possession to which, under Providence, is to be ascribed your deliverance in a crisis of such extreme peril.

12. It is satisfactory to the Governor-General in Council to know that you do not suspect this atrocious attempt to have been instigated by the Rajah, and His Lordship in Council is willing to hope with you that it did not originate in the machinations of any of the principal persons adverse to the interference of the British power. At the same time it is difficult to believe that an individual who could not be supposed to be actuated by any motive of personal resentment should endeavour to perpetrate a crime of such enormity without the instigation of others who considered your presence and proceedings to be destructive of their views and interests; and I am instructed to add that, viewing this occurrence as a matter not less of publick than of private concern, His Lordship in Council would not wish you to neglect any probable means of tracing it to its origin.

13. *You have no doubt been apprized by* the Resident *at Dehli that he has been directed to retain the* assassin in confinement as a State prisoner.

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141. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D.* OCHTERLONY, *Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana, to N. B.* EDMONSTONE, *Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 135, dated the 8th of August 1812.*

Application of the Chief of Mani Májra for a title.

I HAVE the honor to transmit an *urzee* from Gopaul Sing of Munny Majra soliciting the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to apply to the Court of Dehli for the title of Rajah, which was granted to his ancestor by Ahmad Shah, Doorani, when in this country.

Gopaul Sing was relieved by our interference from the payment of a heavy tribute to Runjeet Sing, and considered it only as a prelude to the entire seizure of his country.

I have had frequent occasion to mention services on which I have employed him and others where he has either spontaneously offered or voluntarily joined me, and has never omitted to evince his gratitude for the benefit he has derived from our interference, not by empty assurances, but by cordial and active co-operation whenever he could or thought he could be of the least service; and on this ground I take the liberty most humbly to recommend his suit to the favorable attention of His Lordship in Council.

Application of the Chief of Mani Májra for a title.

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142. *From N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 28th of August 1812.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 135, dated the 8th ultimo, enclosing an *urzee* from Gopaul Sing of Munny Majra soliciting an application to the Court of Dehli for the grant of the titles of Rajah and Behaudur.

2. On the grounds which you have stated, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is disposed to comply with Gopaul Sing's request, but previously to a final determination His Lordship in Council is desirous of knowing your opinion whether, on the ground of its creating an inconvenient precedent, a compliance with his request may not be objectionable.

3. It occurs to Government that other Sikh Chiefs observing the success of the application may be induced to follow his example, and it might perhaps be difficult to assign reasons not invidious and offensive for declining to grant in all instances what has been granted in one. Whether or not, however, the circumstances of Gopaul Sing's father having enjoyed the title of Rajah (although not conferred by the Throne of Dehli) and of his own personal services and fidelity to the British Government are sufficiently exclusive, you will be the best judge.

4. Until the receipt of your answer a reply to Gopaul Sing's *urzee* will of course be suspended.

Application of the Chief of Mani Májra for a title.

143. *From Lieutenant-Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government,—No. 139, dated the 27th of September 1812.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, and in reply beg leave to inform His Lordship in Council that, Saheb Sing of Putteealah having obtained the title of Maharajah and Juswunt Sing of Nabah with Bhaug Sing of Jeendh the titles of Rajah from the present Emperor, Akber Shah, I do not know any Surdar who is likely to be in the least degree solicitous of a similar distinction except Gopaul Sing, and should any one make an application to that effect for His Lordship's acquiescence, I should not scruple to decline the transmission to Government on the just and well-founded plea that the ever ready and voluntary services of the Munny Majra Surdar had given him claims to favor to which no other, who had not already received the indulgence, could in any degree pretend.

144. *From N. B. Edmonstone, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 16th of October 1812.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo in reply to the reference contained in my address to you of the 28th of August respecting Gopaul Sing's request for permission to apply to the Court of Dehli for the grant of the title of Rajah and Behaudur.

2. It appearing from your dispatch that no inconvenience on the score of precedent is likely to arise from a compliance with Gopaul Sing's application, a reply will be addressed to him by the Governor-General notifying His Lordship's acquiescence in his request.

3. His Lordship's letter will be transmitted to you from the Persian Department for the purpose of being forwarded to Gopaul Sing.

4. The application must be made through the Resident at Dehli.

145. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to C. T. Metcalfe, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 19th of December 1812.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, and to communicate to you the following instructions on the subject to which it relates.

Treatment of members of the Royal Family of Kâbul taking refuge in British territory.

2. The fulfilment of the intention intimated by the Queen of Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk of seeking an asylum in the British dominions would be an event so pregnant with inconvenience, embarrassment and probable expense, both immediate and prospective, as to render the Governor-General in Council extremely desirous that it should not take place, and even that the intention should be discouraged by every means consistent with the observance of the delicacy and respect due to her sex, rank and misfortunes. The means of offering any direct discouragement of Her Majesty's intentions without an appearance of harshness and of insensibility to her calamitous situation and the fallen fortunes of her family are, however, not obvious, and all that is at the option of Government appears to be to avoid any positive encouragement of such a design, or the adoption of any measure of a tendency to excite a desire in the mind of Her Majesty to retire within the Honorable Company's territories. At the same time, if she should actually carry that design into execution and arrive within the limits of our dominions, it will be incumbent on the humanity and generosity of the British Government to grant her the asylum which she seeks, and to receive her with every suitable mark of distinction and respect.

3. You will perceive from the foregoing observations that you have formed a correct conception of the views and wishes of Government with regard to the intention of the Begum, and will infer that the line of conduct which you propose to follow in the event of it becoming necessary for you to act previously to the receipt of instructions from Government, as well as the tenor of your reply to the letters

Treatment of members of the Royal Family of Kábul taking refuge in British territory.

which you received, are entirely approved by His Lordship in Council.

4. I now proceed to convey to you the instructions of the Governor-General in Council on such other points adverted to in your letter as appear to require them, and for the regulation of your communications with Wufa Begum in the undesirable event of Her Majesty actually arriving within the limits of the British territory.

5. With respect to the implied expectation conveyed to you by the Begum of the interposition of the influence of this Government with Rajah Runjeet Sing in order to obtain his consent to the family of Shah Shoojah quitting the territories of the Rajah, the Governor-General in Council observes that, under the impression entertained by the Government of the importance of averting the necessity of receiving the family, it would be obviously inexpedient to use any effort of a nature calculated to facilitate the accomplishment of their wish, which could be with propriety avoided. In the actual state of the case, however, His Lordship in Council is *unable to discern any public grounds on which this Government is entitled to employ such an interference in the independent* exercise of the *Rajah's authority in favor of personages whose* right to our protection cannot be sustained.

6. If therefore such an intimation on the part of the Begum shall be again received, either in the same form or in more direct terms, you will be pleased to state explicitly, but in the most conciliatory terms, the impracticability of any application to Runjeet Sing on the subject under the existing relations between his Government and that of the Company.

7. You have very properly avoided, in your answer to the Begum's letter, touching on the subject of assistance to Shah Shoojah. If a proposition to that effect should be renewed in such a manner as to render it absolutely necessary to notice it, it is the desire of His Lordship in Council that you will reply to it by a simple intimation that it will be referred to the consideration of Government, adding that

your knowledge of the general policy of the Government and of its relations with the State of Caubul will not allow you to anticipate an answer favorable to the object of the reference.

Treatment of members of the Royal Family of Kábul taking refuge in British territory.

8. If the Begum and the females of the family of Shah Shoojah should actually take refuge in the territories of the Company, the observations contained in the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of this letter will enable you to regulate your conduct with regard to their reception and treatment. I am desired, however, to call your particular attention to the necessity of avoiding any act or expression in your communications with them that can lead to the expectation either of present pecuniary assistance or a permanent provision, unless they should be in such a situation as absolutely to require some immediate relief, in which case it must necessarily be afforded, but with such explanations as will make it distinctly understood that it must not be expected to continue.

9. The Governor-General in Council further desires me to inform you that the reception of Shah Shoojah's Queen and the other females of his family is not to be considered as giving a claim to protection and relief to the male branches of the family, or to the numerous adherents and followers who will be encouraged to expect the same treatment. This distinction must be carefully borne in mind in all communications to Wufa Begum herself, and to any persons of the above description who may apply for permission to enter our territories or may do so without permission.

10. You will of course apprize Colonel Ochterlony and any other public officer of Government to whom such a communication may be necessary of the tenor of the foregoing instructions for their information and guidance.

11. It is with extreme regret that the Governor-General in Council finds himself compelled, by the solemn obligations of his public duty, to adopt a course of proceeding towards the illustrious and unfortunate personages who form the subject of the preceding remarks so little consonant to those feelings of hospitality, generosity and reverence for fallen grandeur,

which in the absence of motives less powerful would impel His Lordship in Council to afford them every practicable degree of protection, comfort and consolation.

12. The great and permanent embarrassment and inconvenience inseparable from the indulgence of that disposition in such a case as the present must, however, necessarily operate as an insuperable obstacle to any extension to them of the protection and assistance of Government beyond what is absolutely unavoidable.

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146. *From J. MONCKTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 21st of December 1812.*

Desire of the Chief of Mani Májra for a title.

I AM directed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General to transmit to you the enclosed letter from His Lordship to Gopaul Sing, the Sikh Chief of Munny Majra, in reply to that which was transmitted in your dispatch to the late Chief Secretary's address under date 8th of August last.[1]

Copies in the English and Persian languages of His Lordship's letter to Gopaul Sing accompany for your information.

ENCLOSURE TO 146.

From J. MONCKTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to Government, to GOPAUL SINGH, the Sikh Chief of Munny Majra, written 21st December 1812.

I HAVE had the pleasure to receive your letter soliciting permission to apply to the Court of Dehli for the grant of the titles of Rajah and Bahaudur (*vide* letter received 28th August 1812.)

The reports of Colonel Ochterlony bear the most honorable testimony to your merits and services, and evince your grateful sense of the benefits which you derive from the protection of the British Power.

[1] 141 *supra.*

I desire to distinguish by particular favor those who are conspicuous for zealous and faithful attachment to the British interests.

Under these circumstances I have great pleasure in signifying to you my acquiescence in your request. Colonel Ochterlony has accordingly received my directions to transmit your address to the King to the Resident at Dehli, who will be prepared to employ his influence to obtain the titles, which you solicit, from the Throne.

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147. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Lieutenant-Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—Circular, dated the 15th of January 1813.*

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

I AM directed to inform you that, in consequence of the numerous applications which have lately been received by Government for exemption from the payment of the tax on pilgrims resorting to Allahabad and Gya to an extent far exceeding the limits of the indulgence, which has been usually granted to persons of rank and distinction visiting the several places of Hindoo worship within the Company's territories, the Governor-General in Council has deemed it necessary to adopt a decided resolution to adhere strictly to the established limitation of such exemptions to one hundred persons, except in very peculiar cases which may warrant a special deviation from the general rule.

2. I am directed to remark that the regulation for granting exemption from the tax on pilgrims, of which a copy is enclosed, was not originally established on the principle of enabling a numerous class of persons to perform their devotional exercises at the holy places without payment of the duties, which have for a long series of years, and under all the former Governments of those parts of India in which they are situated, been levied on the pilgrims resorting to them, but as a mark of distinction and respect manifested by the British Government towards friendly Chiefs and persons of rank and consideration, or the members of their families, visiting those

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

places, and were intended to include only their immediate relations and dependants. Few instances can occur in which the number of 100 persons will not embrace all those standing towards the persons above described in such a relation as to entitle them on the grounds stated to partake of the privilege of exemption.

3. You are accordingly desired to explain the nature and intent of the regulation in question to all persons who may apply through you for exemption for a number of persons exceeding one hundred, except in those cases which can be considered to come within the reservation above stated.

ENCLOSURE TO 147.

Copy of a Minute from the Governor-General in the Political Department, dated the 20th of May 1796.

THE frequency of applications to Government for the remission of the duties demandable from pilgrims to Gya and the abuses that our facility in complying with them has given rise to appear to me to require the establishment of some regulations to check the evil, to prescribe the mode of making such applications, and to serve as a guide for receiving or rejecting them.

The practice of granting remission of duties in favor of certain persons originated in motives of policy, with a view to conciliate the neighbouring Hindoo chieftains by granting this indulgence to those among them whose political consequence might be thought to entitle them to this mark of attention on the part of Government or attending to the applications which they might prefer in favor of others. But the readiness which Government has always shewn to gratify them in this particular has opened the door to numberless similar applications from persons not in a station to claim the indulgence for themselves or solicit it for others. Indeed, I have good reason to believe that persons in the habit either of correspondence or of personal intercourse with Government have taken money for making applications in favor of men about whom they had no other interest or concern than what

the transaction gave rise to, and that the agents of Native Chiefs residing at Calcutta sometimes make an unauthorized use of the names of their principals in order to obtain the remission of duties in favor of their own friends, dependants or relations.

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

Under these circumstances it is evident that the end of granting remission is in a great measure frustrated, since no especial favor is conferred by that which is granted indiscriminately to every solicitor, whilst Government actually sustains a loss not inconsiderable by the great defalcation in that branch of their resources. I therefore propose—

1st—That no application for the remission of the Gya duties be received but from principals applying verbally or by letter through the medium of the Resident for Affairs in the quarter where the persons applying may reside, and consequently that all applications made through native agents residing at Calcutta be rejected or referred to the channel of the Resident, except they originate in territories (such as Berar, Nipaul, &c.) where no Resident is appointed, and the only communication with which is through the medium of a Vakeel; and that even under those circumstances no application be received that is not addressed immediately to Government by the principal.

2ndly—That the compliance with or rejection of all applications be regulated solely by the consideration of its political expedience.

3rdly—That the Residents may be directed to transmit, with the application they may receive, such information and remarks as local situation may enable them to make with reference to the principle above laid down, for the guidance of the Government in deciding on their merits.

4thly—That the number of permissions granted under one application never exceed one hundred.

5thly—When any application for the remission of duties is complied with, instead of the mode hitherto practised for the identification of the pilgrim, namely, of furnishing him with

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

a duplicate of the letter to the Collector's address authorizing the remission, that a certificate to that effect in Persian and English, specifying the name of the person applying and of the party making the pilgrimage, with the number of followers for whom the remission is allowed, be delivered to the pilgrim to be produced by him before the Collector after his arrival at Gya.

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148. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Secret, Political and Foreign Department, Fort William,—No. 146, dated the 7th of January 1813.*

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Ākkari* duties of Ludhiána.

I deem it my duty to bring to the notice of Government an arrangement, which at an early period of time after the establishment of a military post at Loodeana, I succeeded in concluding with Rajah Bhaug Sing for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Aubkaree* of that town, and which has existed to the present time, producing in its operation and effects some essential public benefits.

2. On our first arrival here I saw the necessity of obtaining in some way or other a controuling influence in the town of Loodeana. At that time the town had few inhabitants. It had indeed for many years been the scene of depredation and licentiousness until it was seized by Runjeet Sing and subsequently bestowed by him with its adjacent lands on his uncle, Bhaug Sing, who at the period of our arrival was inviting inhabitants. But, although desirous of improving his newly acquired territory, he could not relinquish habits congenial to the disposition of his tribe, and consequently many taxes existed of an oppressive nature, and some particularly detrimental to the interests of a British detachment, among which were duties on grain or other necessary articles of consumption. The sale of spirituous liquors also existed without restriction, and afforded a continual opportunity and temptation to the European part of the detachment and to natives attached to the cantonment to indulge in habits of intoxication.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

3. With a view to put a stop to these abuses and to prevent the great evils arising from them, I proposed to Bhaug Sing to take the farm of the *Sayer* and *Aubkaree* of the town of Loodeana, to which proposition he at length consented, for the annual sum of 2,100 rupees. My first measure after the conclusion of this arrangement was to abolish all duties on grain, and to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs in the town. The first was intended to increase our supplies and the last to preserve my right of controul over the stills and over the vendors of spirits in the camp, whom in our insulated situation it was necessary to tolerate.

4. When, however, the late regulations of Government prohibiting the levy of any tax whatever in camp or cantonment were promulgated, a change of system became necessary. On that occasion, therefore, I removed the *Aubkaree* from the camp to the town under the pre-existing regulations in respect to Europeans, and in a short space of time, the profits increasing by an increased consumption, a surplus remained after the payment of the establishments, for which, exclusive of the amount annually payable to Bhaug Sing, the proceeds of the farm supplied the funds; whereas antecedently to the complete operation of this change of system I sustained a trifling loss by my agreement with Bhaug Sing.

5. Considering that agreement to be rather of a personal and private than of a public nature, whilst at the same time it was productive of no personal advantage to myself, although eminently beneficial in a public point of view, it did not occur to me to be necessary to trouble Government with a report upon the subject; but, as the surplus above mentioned has now continued for a considerable period of time, and is likely to be permanent, it appears to me to be proper to communicate to Government the details of the arrangement and to solicit its determination with regard to the disposal of that surplus.

6. I accordingly transmit enclosed a statement[1] of the average proceeds of the farm and of their appropriation,

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

exhibiting an annual surplus of 2,664 rupees. It is proper at the same time to convey to Government an explanation regarding several items of expenditure charged in that statement.

7. The police *chowkidars* charged at 159 rupees per mensem are the professional thieves mentioned in my dispatch No. 137. By entertaining these men not only have we been secured from the daily depredation which every Surdar expected would result from our cantoning in this place, but I have been enabled in some cases to trace property stolen and effect restitution to the owners.

8. To account for the monthly sum of 50 rupees paid to the irregular Golundauz it is only necessary to state that, having represented to His Excellency the late Commander-in-Chief the want of a sufficient number of artillerymen to man all the guns, and having requested to have a proportion of the Dehli Golundauz who were then unemployed, I was informed by the Adjutant-General (a copy of whose reply is enclosed) that I might have volunteers from that corps, but that they would have no claim to *Batta*; and in a matter in which my honor and reputation were so deeply interested, I thought it a cheap purchase of their services (which could not otherwise have been obtained) to hold out the lure of a seer of *atta* gratis.

9. Anund Sing, who receives a monthly sum or *douceur* of 50 rupees, is the Vakeel of Runjeet Sing. Finding that the Europeans procured liquor in some of his villages near the cantonment, I obtained by the grant of that *douceur* the demolition of the stills in those villages.

10. Ranee Rutton Koour, for whom a pension of 30 rupees is charged in the statement, is the widow of a Surdar from whom Runjeet Sing in his second irruption had seized Bhurtgurh, Saniwal and Goongrana, with other petty districts. She came to Loodeana in a most pitiable state of distress and misery, to which she had thus been reduced by the violence of Runjeet Sing from the enjoyment of power and affluence, and this small pension is now her only support.

11. It is proper also to mention on this occasion that the surplus of the proceeds of the *Aubkaree* and town duties has enabled me to erect a public *serai*, which cost about 1,200 rupees.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

12. Concluding that, with reference to the great public benefits resulting from the arrangement now detailed, Government will concur in the expediency of maintaining it, I have only further to submit to the consideration of His Lordship in Council to determine whether or not the surplus collections of the farm can be deemed a proper and legitimate compensation for the duties of management and superintendence imposed on the Officer Commanding at this station.

13. I should not, however, in justice to Rajah Bhaug Sing, conclude this address without stating that the arrangement above mentioned was obtained as a personal favor expressly granted on the grounds of our old acquaintance and understood to be distinct from the cantonment of Loodeana. I trust therefore the decision of His Lordship in Council will recognize the right of the Rajah to resume the farm at pleasure, and that it will be declared to continue in force only whilst it has his concurrence.

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149. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 147, dated the 28th of January 1813.*

I have the honor to report my return to this station on the 21st instant, and to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, that I availed myself of my return from Kurnaul to investigate and settle on the spot several disputes and claims which had come before me at Loodeana or had been referred to me by the Resident of Dehli.

Settlement of disputes at Ládwa and elsewhere by Colonel Ochterlony.

2. At Ladooa, the village and *gurhy* of Babayn had been wrested from the infant son of the late Goordut Sing in consequence of the intrigues of a second widow who had no

Settlement of disputes at Ládwa and elsewhere by Colonel Ochterlony.

just claims according to the customs of the country but to four villages which he had settled on her in his lifetime, but more owing to the imprudent and improper conduct of the widow who, as being mother of the heir, has obtained the management. At Doodla, a village near Umballa, I had an opportunity of incontestably proving the right of a claimant in a case where four zemeendars, who had come before me at Loodeana in behalf of the then possessor, acknowledged themselves suborned and perjured in their original testimony, when they found that on the spot I had sufficient evidence of their falsehood, and almost equal degree of perjury in a cause at Shahabad which I had been for many months unable to decide with satisfaction to myself owing to the shameful inattention to truth and justice.

3. At Kurnaul I received complaints against the Surdar Bhunga Sing for having seized the fourth of four villages belonging to Moy-ud-deen Khan, the brother of the Chief of Koonjpoora, and from the widow of Bhugail Sing of his having aided and encouraged the zemeendars of one of her villages to eject her thanas. Having received only evasive replies, though the facts were incontestably proved and were acknowledged by the Surdar himself, I thought it necessary to address the requisition, of which I have the honor to transmit a copy, to Major Morrell, and wrote at the same time to the Surdar that, if the villages were not restored to their respective owners in the time specified and he rendered it necessary to send a British force, I should most assuredly give over the whole of the villages to Moy-ud-deen Khan in conformity to the Proclamation of the 22nd of August 1811, and should recommend the delivery of Babupoor, one of his own villages, to the Ranee of Bhugail Sing in compensation for any loss she might sustain by her thanas being ejected from Burhail*gurhy*.

4. I have the satisfaction to report to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that I have this day received *razeenamahs* from Moy-ud-deen Khan and the Ranee certifying the restitution of their respective rights.

5. Expecting and intending to meet Runjeet Sing at Dhurrum Kote I struck across the country from Umbala towards Kotla Malair, but on my road received intelligence from Lahore which led me to suppose the Chief's design of visiting Thanaiser would be relinquished, and accordingly directed my march to this place, where I had yesterday the satisfaction of hearing it confirmed in a letter from himself in which he mentions that Atta Mohummud Khan is surrounded on all sides by Futteh Khan and the troops of the Khalsa under Mohkum Chund, but it was thought his proceeding to any distance at this moment might prove encouraging to the enemy, and he had therefore determined on remaining.

Relinquishment by Ranjit Singh of his intention to visit Thánesar.

6. It seems to be supposed that the intelligence from Cashmere does not correspond with his wishes or expectations, and that, if the Khan and Dewan have not sustained an actual defeat, they do not now hope so easy a conquest as was at first imagined.

7. His own intelligence is said to be vague and imperfect owing to many *hurkarrahs* having been cut off, but what he does receive is communicated so privately and kept so closely that the worst is imagined, because it is supposed any good would be eagerly disclosed.

8. I have now only to entreat you would be pleased to submit my humble request to His Lordship to be absent from this station from the 1st of March to the 20th April (if circumstances should not render it improper) in order to pay a short visit to my friend and *sister*, the Begum Sumroo, whom I have not seen for some years and who has annually requested this visit ever since I have been at Loodeana.

Application of Colonel Ochterlony for leave.

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150. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 148, dated the 21st of January 1813.*

As it appears from the 5th paragraph of your letter of the 8th instant that His Lordship would not approve of my being so long absent or distant from my post as to accompany

Withdrawal of application.

the Chief of Lahore beyond the Jumna, I beg leave to withdraw the application contained in my dispatch No. 147 to visit Surdhana as an indulgence with which I can easily dispense.

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151. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 29th of January 1813.*

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, [1] with its enclosures, and to communicate to you the following observations and resolutions of the Governor-General in Council on the subject of the arrangement concluded by you with Rajah Bhaug Sing for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkaree* duties of Loodeana.

2. While the confidence which the Governor-General in Council reposes in your disinterested zeal for the public service, no less than the declarations contained in your letter now replied to regarding the views and impressions under which you have acted in this affair, must exclude from the mind of the Government any doubt of the purity of your motives in entering into the agreement described by you with Rajah Bhaug Sing, it is impossible for His Lordship in Council to conceal his regret at the facility with which you permitted yourself to engage in a transaction of a nature entirely unauthorized, nay positively prohibited, by the regulations of Government, and which cannot be sanctioned by its approbation nor permitted to continue.

3. His Lordship in Council does not overlook the necessity of maintaining a check upon the sale of spirituous liquors in the vicinity of a military post, nor the other public advantages which are admitted to have been attained by the arrangement in question, but it is not obvious that they would have been less attainable by one framed under the express authority of Government and in conformity to the

[1] 148 *supra.*

regulations in force at the other stations of the Army. It would have been desirable, in any event, to have made an attempt to establish those regulations for the cantonment under your command with such variation only as the local and political circumstances of Loodeanah might have rendered it necessary to introduce, and His Lordship in Council is disposed to think that Rajah Bhaug Sing would not have opposed such an arrangement if proposed in the name of the Government.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

4. The Governor-General in Council under all the circumstances of the case will not pass any retrospective orders regarding either the terms of the agreement with Bhaug Sing or your silence upon the subject in your communications to Government concerning the affairs of your command, of which, however, it is impossible that His Lordship in Council can approve.

5. With regard to the surplus proceeds of the farm, I am directed to inform you that, after deducting the several charges which you have specified as having been provided for out of that fund, the remainder must, from the beginning, be carried to the credit of Government, and the arrangement itself can be allowed to subsist only till another less objectionable can be substituted.

6. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be requested to state his sentiments with regard to the most advisable mode of effecting the objects of the system established by you without involving a deviation from the established rules and principles of the service, and you will hereafter be furnished with the instructions of Government on the subject. I am directed to add that it will not be advisable at the present moment to make public the existence of any intention to change the present system. It will, of course, be entirely optional with Rajah Bhaug Sing to transfer the duties to Government on the present terms or to enter into any new arrangement which may be proposed to him.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

152. *From Colonel D.* OCHTERLONY, *Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J.* ADAM, *Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 150, dated the 24th of February 1813.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, and, in obedience to the instructions therein contained, have the honor to transmit a detailed account of the surplus produce of the farm and *Aubkaree* of Lodiana, with a draft for the amount in your favor.

2. Whilst I acknowledge the truth and justice of the observations of His Lordship in Council respecting the engagement entered into with Rajah Bhaug Sing without due authority, and the yet more culpable neglect of so long delaying to make it known to Government, yet I did hope that the acknowledgment though late, and so full a detail of the motives, combined with the beneficial results, might have exempted me from such severe censure, as well as from any retrospective pecuniary claims, and above all from the extreme mortification of a reference to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to whose favorable opinion, protection and patronage as a military man I must more immediately look, and who may now be prejudiced against me from knowing that my conduct has called for his interference and authority without any information as to the motives which produced it.

3. I would wish too, with every deference and respect to His Lordship in Council, to state that I am yet ignorant, after a deliberate search, of any prohibitive regulation of Government which applies or has the least analogy to the situation in which I was placed; and, whatever may have been my error in entering into the engagement or not communicating it when made, I trust His Lordship in Council will acquit me of the weakness and temerity of deliberately acting in direct violation of the orders and regulations of His Lordship in Council, and then making a voluntary and formal acknowledgment of it in a letter to the Secretary to Government.

4. The proposal for establishing a legitimate tribunal for the trial of offenders at Loodeana called for my public and unreserved opinions, and in stating them, and what I had done for the prevention of crime, it for the first time occurred to me that I had been negligent, if not culpable; but it occasioned no hesitation as to the line I should pursue, and I detailed with candour the measures I had adopted, and only privately mentioned the resources from which they were paid, because I did not wish to assume the merit of expending my private, individual and authorized allowances for a public, useful and necessary establishment.

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

5. In reply to the latter part of the 3rd paragraph, I have not the least hesitation in acknowledging that I have not a doubt Rajah Bhaug Sing would not have opposed the arrangement if proposed in the name of the Government, but it would have been granted with the same affected promptitude and the same real concern as he gave up the fort, which I could not obtain till I found it necessary to use the name and authority of Government for its attainment.

6. But I must confess it did not occur to me as possible that His Lordship in Council would have sanctioned such an engagement or such an application under the authority of Government; and if I could retrace the reasonings of my mind at the moment I believe I should, and I think I could with truth, assert that my silence was originally occasioned by the apprehension that His Lordship in Council would not condescend to treat for an object so trifling when the benefits to be expected, though essential, were only experimental and speculative.

7. I cannot conclude this letter without referring His Lordship in Council to Lieutenant Brownrigg, the Officiating Secretary to the Military Board, who, being then my Brigade Major, will I believe recollect and testify—

First, that I originally paid the police and *cutwally* establishment out of my own private funds;

Arrangements for the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

Secondly, that I did not establish an *Aubkaree* even in the camp until numberless disorders and evils proved to me the necessity ; and

Lastly, that the produce when established was scarcely adequate to the pay of the establishments kept up.

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153. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, to Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 19th of March 1813.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, enclosing a statement of the receipts and disbursements on account of the farm of the *Sayer* and *Aubkaree* of the town of Lodhiana, and an order on your agents, Messrs. Cruttenden and Machillop, for Rs. 3,204-3-8, the amount of the surplus produce of the farm.

2. The Governor-General in Council observes with regret the impression which has been made on your mind by the sentiments and resolutions conveyed to you in my letter of the 29th January. His Lordship in Council never for a moment questioned the purity of the motives which induced you to form the arrangement with Rajah Bhaug Sing reported in your dispatch of the 7th of January, while it was impossible for His Lordship in Council to approve or pass over without observation a proceeding which could not be reconciled with the principles and rules of the service. The communication to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was made, not with the view of drawing on you the disapprobation and censure of His Excellency, but to obtain His Excellency's sentiments with regard to the most expedient arrangement to be substituted for that which was to be abolished. In order to prevent any misconception on the part of His Excellency of the affair itself, or the sentiments entertained on it by Government, the whole of your dispatch of the 7th of January and of my reply was communicated to His Excellency, and not, as you erroneously suppose, a part of it only.

3. The Governor-General in Council has thought it right to acquaint you with this circumstance in order to satisfy your mind on a point on which it appears to have dwelt with much uneasiness; but, as no advantage will be derived from pursuing further a subject which was entered on by the Government with great reluctance, I am directed to conclude by assuring you that the expressions of dissatisfaction formerly conveyed to you, mitigated and qualified as they were by the justice which was rendered to the motives under which you acted, were confined exclusively to the case in question, and that the confidence, respect and esteem for your character which the Governor-General in Council has uniformly entertained and taken every occasion to express remains undiminished.

Arrangements of the farm of the *Sayer* and *Abkari* duties of Ludhiána.

4. A copy of this letter will be transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief, together with a copy of your dispatch to which it replies.

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154. *From J. MONCKTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—Circular dated the 26th of March 1813.*

You have already been informed, by a letter of the 15th of January,[1] from the Political Department, of the decided resolution of Government to adhere strictly to the established limitation of exemptions from the pilgrim tax under any one application to one hundred persons, except in very peculiar cases which may warrant a special deviation from the general rule, and have been desired to explain the nature and intent of the regulation in question to all persons who may apply through you for exemption for a number of persons exceeding 100, except in those cases which can be considered to fall within the principle of reservation stated in that resolution. It is not to be understood from this that an exemption for 100 followers is to be granted in all cases. That indulgence is to

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

[1] 146 *supra*.

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

be considered as itself a favor, which is to be granted only to persons of suitable rank and condition.

2. With a view, however, to check the extravagant applications which are constantly made by Chiefs for exemptions in favor of thousands of followers, and to deprive them of all plea for expecting a compliance with their unreasonable demands, the Governor-General in Council deems it expedient that without even waiting for applications immediately from the Chiefs whose interests, as connected with those of the British Government, are committed to your charge, you should at once convey to their Vakeels, for the purpose of being communicated by them to their employers, a distinct explanation of the principles which govern the conduct of Government in granting exemptions from the pilgrim tax, and of its fixed resolution to act in strict conformity to those principles.

3. You will therefore inform the Vakeels that, as Government is at a considerable expense in maintaining the large religious establishments for the support of different places of worship, it is necessary, in order to defray that expense, to continue the practice which uniformly prevailed under the Native Government of levying a tax from those for whose benefit those establishments are entertained; that accordingly, in pursuance of the custom which prevailed under former Governments, a law has been enacted by which a light and moderate tax has been established on pilgrims resorting to the principal places of worship, and that any deviation from that law is attended with inconvenience, and is indeed in itself improper, since laws, when once established, should be uniformly and regularly enforced; that this is necessary to the good order and efficiency of every well regulated Government; that however the British Government, anxious to manifest its respect and consideration for friendly Chiefs and other persons of rank, thought proper to make an exception from the general rule in their favor, and therefore determined as a mark of distinction to grant exemptions to them and their immediate relations and dependants; that upon this principle the British

Government resolved to grant exemption to such Chiefs and other distinguished personages to the extent of one hundred persons as being the number which would in general be sufficient to embrace their families, and that it is only in cases when the party applying for an exemption shall possess elevated rank and that the restricted number shall be known to be insufficient to include his whole suite, that Government will in future be disposed to depart materially from the established rule; that, therefore, with a view to prevent future disappointment, you are instructed to declare that the number of exemptions will hereafter be limited, excepting in very peculiar cases, to 100 persons, and never on any account extended beyond that of the relations and dependants of any Chief; and that the numerous followers who are in the habit of joining the Chiefs in the progress of their pilgrimage cannot be permitted to partake of the privilege of exemption, which is merely granted as a personal honor to themselves, but that they must in common with the subjects of the British Government and others be subjected to the operation of the regulation for the payment of the tax, since they cannot on any principle of justice be permitted to enjoy privileges which are denied by Government to its own subjects. You will particularly state that the object of granting exemptions is not to relieve those to whom they are granted from expense, since money is no object to those who apply for and obtain remissions, nor to enable Chiefs to employ them as a source of patronage by procuring the gratuitous admission of thousands to the temples of worship, but that the sole principle on which they are granted is that of manifesting respect, friendship and regard for friendly Chiefs and other persons of elevated rank; that the remissions are therefore of course intended to include only those who are *bonâ fide* attached to their suite.

Limitation of exemptions from the tax on pilgrims.

4. It is hoped that an explanation to the foregoing effect will be the means of preventing many unreasonable applications for exemptions, while it will certainly enable Government to reject with less difficulty those which may be made.

155. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 155, dated the 27th of March 1813.*

Death of Raja of Patiála.

I HAVE the honor to transmit translations of papers received yesterday evening by dak from Putteealah, and to acquaint you, for the information of His Lordship in Council, that an express arrived this morning with intelligence of the death of Saheb Sing, a translation of which accompanies. [1]

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156. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 156, dated 2nd of April 1813.*

Patiála affairs.

I HAVE the honor to transmit some additional papers relative to Putteealah. [1]

2. As one of the physicians had slightly expressed a suspicion of poison, though I saw no good reason for such an act, as the Ranee Aus Koour could not wish a death that would probably terminate her administration, and the other party lose the grand support and pretended cause of their intrigues, I thought it most advisable to send my Head Moonshy to demand a written statement from the physicians in general, and if possible to induce them to attend me for personal investigation. I likewise took the opportunity of his proceeding to Putteealah to send a message to the Ranee, the matter and motives of which will be best seen in the translation of the message itself. However salutary the arrangements, and however uninterested the cause which led to them, and though carried into effect with the concurrence and advice of the truest friend of the house, Rajah Bhaug Sing, yet the measures did not latterly receive that general applause which he and Bhye Lall Sing predicted, and with which I had flattered myself.

3. Better acquainted with the vile dispositions of the neighbouring Surdars, Saheb Sing and his party effected

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

their purpose, by his voluntary seclusion, of throwing on the Ranee and the British Government the odium of an imposed restraint in which he persevered with an obstinacy, which I am fully persuaded has shortened his life. Patiála affairs.

4. The constant exercise which he took formerly lessened the baneful effects of his excessive drinking, and may have contributed to his general health. In his retirement he drank as much or more than ever till a very few days previous to his death, when he suddenly relinquished it altogether in consequence of a dream and contrary to the advice of his physicians, who recommended him to lessen the quantity till he could abstain without risk.

5. In all the late proceedings his heir and successor appears in a very unfavorable point of view, and evidently seems to have assented to the murder of the Misser and eight or nine others, who, he says, were meant by the sheep which Ulbail Sing was to bring him; but, whatever may be my opinion of his head or heart, I cannot again recommend an interference for the most salutary objects, knowing as I do that it is impossible to prevent a perversion and misconstruction of the motives which induce it.

6. I have looked to Putteealah with the most anxious solicitude as to a child of my own adoption, and interested myself in its prosperity not only in the hope of its doing me credit with His Lordship in Council, but that the benefits so conspicuous there would lead to general imitation, and I have only the mortification to see the Ranee's most judicious measures opposed, her troops, though better and more regularly paid than ever, discontented and disobedient, intrigue and falsehood preventing the subjugation of a refractory village and murder deliberately planned and nearly executed at the Durbar, whilst the forbearance of the British Government has been abused and held out as an insurance of impunity for crimes of the greatest enormity; and the experience of four years has only served to convince me that if policy does not dictate the necessity of retaining the protection we have assumed it

would be more honorable to the British Government to leave them to the mercy of Runjeet, and to the effects of their own detestable dispositions, than to witness, and in some degree to sanction, guilt by impunity.

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157. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 30th of April 1813.*

Orders of Government regarding Patiála affairs.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 2nd instant,[1] communicating further information concerning the affairs of Putteealah.

2. The Governor-General in Council is happy to find that the suspicions which had been excited that the death of the Rajah was occasioned by poison have been satisfactorily removed. The only party in the Durbar whose interests could have led it to seek his death is that of the Kooer, whose profligate adherents and counsellors might have prevailed on his weak and apparently unprincipled mind to consent to such an atrocious act, in order to obtain possession of the Government of which they might expect to secure the administration and its consequent advantages to themselves. It must be admitted, however, that there is no evidence of any such act or design which can warrant a suspicion of the kind.

3. The death of the Rajah is only to be regretted inasmuch as it will probably be followed by the removal of Ranee Aus Koor and her faithful minister, Misser Nodha, from the administration and render the principality of Putteealah again the scene of disorders and corruption, little less fatal than those from which it was partially and for a time rescued by the interference of the British Government. It is rather to be wished than expected that the young Rajah will be guided in any respect by the advice of the Ranee in the administration of his affairs. That interference must now be necessarily withdrawn, as the circumstances in which the State

[1] 156 *supra.*

Orders of Government regarding Patiála affairs.

of Putteealah now stands are not such as to justify an authoritative exercise of it, and it is but too evident that it is no longer desired by those who originally sought it, with the exception perhaps of the Ranee and her immediate adherents. However weak may be the understanding or depraved the mind of the young Rajah, there is no ground whatever for either preventing his succession or curbing the authority which he derives from the possession of the Raj. It is superfluous to observe that the personal condition of Rajah Saheb Sing at the period of our interference was essentially different, and that we were urgently solicited by the united voice of all parties, except those whose immediate interest was involved in the maintenance of the existing order of things, to interpose our influence and authority as the only means of preventing the ruin of the State. It is with great concern that the Governor-General in Council has seen the hopes, which he entertained of a material improvement in the State of Putteealah resulting from that interference, almost entirely disappointed by the perverse and unprincipled conduct of the Surdars. It is obvious that any attempt to continue it will be attended with equal disappointment, and will only render the British Government in a manner answerable for the great and increasing evils which it cannot prevent without a more direct and efficient exercise of its power than has ever been contemplated.

4. For these reasons, the Governor-General in Council has determined to withdraw from all concern in the affairs of Putteealah, and to restore our relations with that State to the same footing on which they stood before we took part in its internal affairs. You will infer from this resolution the approbation of the Government of your message to the Ranee of which a translation is enclosed in your dispatch, and which will have prepared her mind for the determination now announced.

5. You have been already authorized to signify to the Durbar the resolution of Government to protect the Ranee and Misser Nodha from any violence to their persons.

158. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 171, dated the 23rd of July 1813.*

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Military operations proposed by Colonel Ochterlony.

I have the honor to transmit copies and translations of my further correspondence with Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

2. From the letter of Ummer Sing it will be seen that he has no intention of relinquishing the four villages belonging to Bhutowley, but at this season of the year I was not sorry to avail myself of his real or pretended reference to his superior, clearly pointing out to him that the delay was not to be considered as a relinquishment of an unquestionable right.

3. When it appeared that Ummer Sing was likely pertinaciously to retain these villages, I wrote to Captain William Richards requesting him to give me every local information his notes or memory could furnish of the general knowledge he had acquired of the Goorkha possessions in an excursion which he had made with my leave, and on a permission obtained from the Kajee, into the Valley of Kaardeh for timber with Lieutenant and Quartermaster Young, and a copy of his reply [1] will be found in this dispatch, including some observations by Mr. Hearsey,[1] which in all probability have reached His Lordship through some other channel.

4. Mr. Hearsey's opinions are in some respects entitled to consideration, but I do not see the necessity of so formidable an equipment of Artillery when certainly it would be advisable not to have anything superfluous, and of all his details in that branch I should imagine the 12-lb carronades alone would be particularly useful on account of their size and easier transportation. With this exception, all the ordnance should consist I imagine of light field pieces, and, as carronades are not likely to be in any depôt of the Upper Provinces, it would cause too much delay to wait for such an equipment as he recommends.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

5. The accounts I have received of the different passes are formidable, but these people have no idea what can be effected in road making by personal labor, and still less of what we are capable of surmounting by perseverance and exertion.

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Military operations proposed by Colonel Ochterlony.

6. To repel the present and to prevent future aggression, it will perhaps be necessary to convince Ummer Sing that his hills are not to us inaccessible or his forts impregnable, and that once shewn it seems probable that they will cease along the whole extent of the boundary of the two States.

7. Should His Lordship in Council be of opinion that the best way of enforcing the restitution of the disputed villages at Bhutowley would be to shew our ability to do much more, it would perhaps be thought advisable for the Infantry corps at this station, with the four 12-pounders intended originally for the fort, to march direct to Nallagurh, which, as will be seen by the map, is situate at the west end of the valley, on the lower jet or point of the high range which constituted the *Raj* of Hindoor.

8. This fort, I imagine, would soon fall, and might serve as a principal depôt for the stores and provisions of the troops destined to act in that quarter. From the descriptions I have received of Nallagurh, it must soon fall, and that alone would probably effect every object, as it might, as a punishment for these unprovoked aggressions, be restored to Ram Singh or redelivered to the Goorkhas on their engaging not to commit the like in future.

9. In order to divide their forces and attention, the Kurnaul Detachment might with ease occupy the valley of Kaardeh, and I am persuaded, by the aid of *beldars* and elephants, get up battering guns and howitzers to the fort of Nahan, which in itself has no other strength than the difficulty of approach, and the garrison I should imagine would not long resist after the explosion of a few shells within its confined limits.

10. If the Goorkhas, as asserted by Mr. Hearsey, depend on the low country, or their eastern possessions, for supplies,

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Military operations proposed by Colonel Ochterlony.

they might be cut off without difficulty by the Seharunpoor Detachment taking possession of the valley opposite to Kaardeh, and which is said to extend to the Ganges.

11. These observations are offered with great diffidence, and the object is more to ascertain the wishes of His Lordship in Council whether the operations after the rains should be limited to the mere dislodgment from the villages which they have unjustly seized, or extended to a certain degree, so as to impress a salutary conviction that their hills will not screen them from the punishment due to unjust and unprovoked aggression.

12. I am well aware that the possession of these hills holds out no object of desire or even of indemnification; but, if they are more assailable in this quarter than any other, an attack here, though not carried the length of expulsion, may most effectually terminate all differences and disputes which have been caused by their encroachments on our more valuable eastern possessions, and as your letter of the 15th May mentions that the Kajee's command extends to the tributary zemeendary or ceded lands of Bhutowley, the officer who commands the operations here might be instructed to insist at once on the relinquishment of all claims, on any pretence, to any lands situated under the hills along the whole extent of their recent conquests.

13. I have not said anything of the employment of Kishen Sing, whom I personally know, and who has the character of a brave and active soldier, or of Hurruckdeo, whom Mr. Hearsey terms the Earl of Warwick, because the propriety of encouraging such men, or of inviting the people to rise *en masse*, must materially depend in justice and humanity on the determination of His Lordship in Council respecting the ultimate appropriation of the country, or the utter expulsion of the Goorkhas.

14. If Ummer Sing Thappa should, after the rains, still decline to relinquish the villages in dispute, and it should be thought political or expedient to drive them from between

the Sutledge and Jumna, or even beyond the Ganges, I have no doubt that the services of Kishen Sing would prove useful in various ways; but there would be too much cruelty in the idea of exciting revolt and insurrection to suppose that His Lordship would adopt the measure without a previous determination of securing them against certain punishment in the event of any compromise with their present tyrants; nor would such a measure perhaps be attended with great success in the Nahan district, unless they were assured they should not revert to their former master, who first called the Napaulese to fight his battles against his own servants, and probably against the very Hurruckdeo whom Mr. Hearsey mentions as the fittest man to carry all plans into effect.

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Military operations proposed by Colonel Ochterlony.

15. Under a firm persuasion that Ummer Sing Thappa will compel us to dislodge his troops from below the hills, I have ventured to lay the subject more fully before His Lordship in Council than may be deemed absolutely necessary; but, as the very defence of these places will probably induce him to send large detachments, and thereby lead to more extensive operations, it appears to me desirable to ascertain and receive His Lordship's instructions for every possible event, and I trust on that account I shall be deemed excusable for my prolixity.

16. I shall only take the liberty to add that if each detachment could have two 12-pounders and two howitzers, with the 6-pounders attached to corps, and a large proportion of shrapnels for guns of every calibre, I should think them formidably equipped, and indeed believe from what I have heard that few of their forts would resist even our field pieces, with the explosion of a few shells from the howitzers.

17. The heavier ordnance, however, might skirt along the foot of the hills, and, if absolutely requisite, roads might be constructed by the Pioneers, or by *beldars* hired for the occasion, direct to the places intended to attack, for every account agrees that there are horse-roads to Tucksal, Mornee, and to Nahan.

159. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to C. T. Metcalfe, Esquire, Resident at Dehli,—dated the 9th of July 1813.*

Intention of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to seek an asylum in British Territory.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 18th ultimo, enclosing a copy of your correspondence with Colonel Ochterlony, relative to a reported design of His Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to seek an asylum in the British dominions.

2. You have formed a just conception of the sentiments which the Governor-General in Council entertains on this subject. The fulfilment of Shah Shooja's intention would certainly be attended with an extreme degree of embarrassment, and it is therefore a most desirable object to endeavour, by every possible means short of an absolute refusal to receive him, to prevail on him to forego his design. If previous notice is given, the object may not be difficult of accomplishment. It may indeed be inferred from the very fact of such previous notice being given, that the unfortunate monarch would be regulated by the tenor of the answer in his subsequent proceedings, and His Lordship in Council is satisfied that your talents and address will enable you to divert him from his plan with the least possible injury to his feelings.

3. If His Majesty should proceed to the British frontier without previous notice, it will of course be necessary that in any intercourse which it may be necessary for the officers of the Government to hold with him, the utmost delicacy, respect and attention should be manifested towards him, without, however, deviating from the cautious line of conduct stated in your letter to Colonel Ochterlony.

4. The instructions conveyed to you in my letter of the 19th December 1812, relative to the conduct and demeanour to be observed towards the Queen of Shah Shooja, in the event of that Princess seeking an asylum in the Honorable Company's territory, are applicable to the present case. The residence of the Shah himself, however, in these dominions would be infinitely more embarrassing in a political point of view, and a source of greater expense than that of the Queen.

5. If the actual approach of the King cannot be prevented, it will at least be some advantage to delay his actual entrance into our provinces for a time by persuading him to suspend his progress until a reference can be made to the Government.

Intention of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to seek an asylum in British Territory.

6. In carrying these instructions into effect His Lordship in Council reposes just confidence in the approved ability, address and experience of yourself and Colonel Ochterlony, to whom you will be pleased to communicate these instructions for his guidance.

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160. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 20th of August 1813.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 23rd ultimo,[1] enclosing the continuation of your correspondence with Ummer Sing Thappa, from which it appears that he is disposed to maintain the right of the Nipaulese to the four villages below the hills belonging to Rajah Ram Sing of Palassean.

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Orders of Government.

2. You have also submitted for the consideration of Government a system of operations to be eventually undertaken against the Nipaulese for the purpose of dispossessing them of their recent conquests in the hills between the Sutledge and the Jumna. The Governor-General in Council considers the information which you have collected with relation to this subject to be highly creditable to your publick zeal and to the activity and intelligence of the gentlemen from whom you have obtained it.

3. It is, however, far from being the wish or intention of the Governor-General in Council to engage in any extended scheme of operations such as that contemplated in those papers. His Lordship in Council is, on the contrary, desirous of maintaining the existing relation of friendship with the Nipaulese Government, and of effecting an adjustment of all disputed points by amicable negotiation, if practicable. If,

[1] 157 *supra.*

Encroachments of Gurkhas. Orders of Government.

however, the obstinacy and arrogance of the Nipaulese shall compel this Government to have recourse to arms in the defence of the rights of its subjects and dependants, it will still be His Lordship in Council's wish, as long as it is practicable, to confine our measures to the expulsion of the Nipaulese from the lands under our protection which they may usurp, without retaliating by an attack on their possessions in the hills, with respect to which we claim no right of interference.

4. The Governor-General in Council is therefore pleased to desire that you will regulate your proceedings by the principles stated in the instructions of the 15th May and in this dispatch.

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161. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 184, dated the 28th of October 1813.*

Restitution by Gurkhas of four villages to the Raja of Hindour.

IT is with great satisfaction I do myself the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, of the restitution of the four villages of Bhutowley to Rajah Ram Sing of Pallassean.

2. My dispatch No. 182 informed you of the evacuation of Moondlai and Berowley, and, though Ummer Sing Thappa denies that they were yielded to the troops from Putteealah, it does not reflect less credit on the obedience and ready services of the Maha Rajah's confidential servants, and there can be little doubt that their presence prevented more extensive aggressions on similar pretexts.

3. The tone of the Vakeels, who delivered the letter of which I have the honor to transmit a translation,[1] is quite changed, and, instead of the presumptuous arrogance displayed on all former occasions, they adopt a style humble even to servility, and profess a readiness to give up twenty villages if required rather than permit the slightest diminution of the harmony which has subsisted so long between the two Governments.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

4. Whether this change has proceeded from seeing the determination to insist on the restitution of the places they had so unjustly usurped or by orders from the Nepaulese Rajah, it is satisfactory to believe that it will prevent the recurrence of similar disputes ; and as they expressed a most urgent wish that I should comply with Ummer Sing's request to meet him, I trust His Lordship in Council will approve of my ready acquiescence and of my assuring him that I was happy to comply with any suggestion, which Ummer Sing thought of any importance, to mark the amicable adjustment of all disputes in this quarter and the cordiality and good-will existing between our respective superiors. I shall accordingly proceed on the 3rd November by the way of Rooper and leave the place of meeting to Ummer Sing. After the interview with Ummer Sing, I propose, and hope it will be sanctioned by His Lordship's approbation, to skirt along the hills, or as near as the roads will admit, not only for the purpose of acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the country, but to see the villages of Moondlai and Berowley, which are yet occupied by troops from Putteealah, their proprietors, Maldeo and Naraindas, having declined to receive them till they were re-established in two other villages which I never before heard of, which they acknowledge to have been seized more than two years since, and which I have very great reason to suspect are situated *on* the hills, and do not at all come within the protected limits. They also complain that a hill streamlet which watered these villages has been dammed up, and they require that this also should be demanded from the Goorkhas.

Intention of Colonel Ochterlony to visit the Gurkha Commander and settle disputes *en route*.

5. I have so often had occasion to describe the people of this country that no act of absurdity can now surprise, and I have only thought it necessary to inform them that if they do not choose to receive them as they are, without flattering themselves that the British Government will support them in unjust or unwarrantable pretensions, they may permit the Putteealah troops to remain, and I shall recommend to His Lordship in Council that they should be permanent thanas and the villages considered as no longer their property.

Intention of Colonel Ochterlony to visit the Gurkha Commander and settle disputes *en route.*

6. At Moondlai I shall not be many days' march from the Jumna, and I hope His Lordship in Council will approve of my proceeding to Booriah for the double purpose of ascertaining the ghauts at which duties are collected, the Surdars to whom they belong, and the amount of their annual collections, and of trying if possible to reconcile the differences between the two brothers, sons of Shair Sing, and the widow of the Surdar Bhugwan Sing, between all of whom and with each other there exists some cause of discord and dissension, which daily produces a contest and the wanton sacrifice of the lives of some of their dependants.

7. The town of Booriah itself, once a large and very populous city, is represented to be flourishing, and inhabited only in one small quarter or portion which belongs to the widow above mentioned whilst all the rest is one scene of desolation and ruin. These dissensions are said to be fomented by the intrigues and artifices of the arch-fiend Jodh Sing, Kulseeah, who has no other object but to make himself of consequence to all, that all may ultimately come under his controul; and I hope to show them that their real interests are in placing their sole dependance on the justice of the British Government and in mutual cordiality and forbearance.

8. If I am successful, these Surdars will reap the full benefit of the protection which has been afforded them in one of the most fertile districts on this side the Sutledge, and the inhabitants and ryots will no longer be distracted by the rapine, anarchy and bloodshed which are the consequences of their continued animosity.

9. If on my return from this excursion I should find there is no particular necessity for my presence, I should esteem myself particularly favoured if His Lordship in Council would permit me to proceed to Dehli for the purpose of bringing up my daughter, recently arrived from England, and of paying a short visit to my friend Mr. Metcalfe at Dehli. In urging this request I beg His Lordship may be assured I shall not avail myself of his permission unless perfectly satisfied that my presence is not at the moment particularly necessary.

10. Runjeet is at Seallkote, and said to be intending a second attempt on Cashmere, if not interrupted by a visit from Futteh Khan, who is mentioned as collecting an army to retrieve his defeat at Attock.

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162. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 186, dated the 18th of December 1813.*

In my dispatch No. 184 [1] I did myself the honor to mention my proposed tour to meet Ummer Sing Thappa, to examine the site of the villages lately restored by that Chief, and to proceed from thence to Booriah for purposes detailed in that letter. **Tour of Colonel Ochterlony.**

2. I have now the honor to report the result of this excursion for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, and to express my hope that it will be found attended with some beneficial effects, though from circumstances unavoidable not so complete as I had too sanguinely expected.

3. On the 3rd ultimo I left this station, and on the —— arrived at Rooper, where the Surdar Bhoop Sing, waited upon me, and after expressing in the usual complimentary form his pleasure at my arrival entered into a conversation from which I found he had been summoned, either directly or indirectly, to attend Runjeet with his troops; that he had hitherto evaded a compliance, and most anxiously wished to avoid it altogether if he could be assured that no ill consequence would result from his refusal. Having heard all he had to urge on the subject, I told him that the certain consequences of his refusal would be the seizure and loss of any villages on the right bank, and I therefore recommended him, if he had any interest to serve, to obey the call, as the friendship which now subsisted between the British Government and Runjeet would prevent my blaming him for an attendance which allowed him to retain any possessions he **Meeting with the Sardar of Rúpar.**

[1] 161 *supra.*

Meeting with the Sardar of Rúpar.

might have on that side, which was completely under Runjeet's authority. He informed me that he did not at this moment possess a *beegah* on the right bank, and that any future claims he might have would be gladly relinquished for the comfort and security enjoyed under the British protection.

4. I told him at the same time to state his situation in writing, and I would give him an answer to enable him to judge what was best, and as a guide to his conduct. In consequence he sent me a paper which, with my replies, will be seen in translation No. 1,[1] and in which I trust it will be found I have acted in strict conformity to instructions in determining as a principle that no long established Surdar on the left bank of the Sutledge, not holding lands the immediate gift of Runjeet, can be molested for a refusal to attend him in the Punjab.

Visit to Plassian, the residence of the Raja of Hindour.

5. From Rooper I proceeded to Palassean, the residence of Rajah Ram Surn, late of Hindoor, and had the satisfaction of hearing from him the most grateful acknowledgments to the British Government for their seasonable protection, and the restitution of the four disputed villages of Bhutowley, which I ascertained on the spot to be strictly within the valley of Punjore, and, though situate on rising ground, most distinctly separated from the hills which could have afforded the Goorkha any pretext for his encroachment.

6. The country from Palassean to Buddian all belongs to Ram Surn, and it was with equal surprise and pleasure that I observed the very great improvement which had taken place in his district since my last visit to the valley. I found on enquiry that many of his old subjects from Hindoor had fled to him from the grievous oppression of the Goorkhas, and that he had so considerably increased the cultivation and produce of his lowland possessions that it was doubted whether in point of revenue he was a loser by his expulsion from his hereditary Raj.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Condition of Pinjore proper.

7. In Punjore proper, which belongs to Putteealah, there is not much alteration, though the soil seems excellent with a great command of water; but this may be attributed as much to the want of that local influence possessed by Rajah Ram Surn as to a want of due attention in the management. I shall not, however, neglect to point out to the present administration of Putteealah the great improvement of which it appears susceptible and the means most likely to effect it, and I hope the tour now making by the Maha Rajah and his confidential minister, Misser Nowdha, for the correction of past abuses and the introduction of new reforms, will be extended to that quarter.

Interview with the Gurkha Commander.

8. From Punjore on the 10th of November I crossed the valley to a place of worship called Kalka, and immediately under and about a mile distant from the fort of Tucksal held my interview with Ummer Sing Thappa, who in a long and laboured speech expressed his joy at the amicable termination of all disputes, and his "regret that he was not fully informed by his Vakeel and different messengers of my anxiety for the restitution of Bhutowley, &c." I answered this speech by saying that I was equally gratified by the amicable termination and that, as the places were now restored, there was one essential benefit which had occurred by the delay, that each of us had received such instructions that there was scarcely a possibility of the recurrence of dispute.

9. After many enquiries respecting Mr. Hastings and different gentlemen who had been on the Missions to Nepaul, he expressed himself very anxious that my Assistant, Mr. Ochterlony, and his second son, who was present at the meeting, should exchange turbands. To this unexpected request I was at a loss at first what to reply, but at last told him that I should be glad of any circumstance which would mark our personal cordiality; but, as his request might be made under erroneous impressions, it was necessary to inform him that our usages were essentially different, and, though his son might succeed to a share of the power and command which he himself enjoyed, Mr. Ochterlony was not even a military man,

Interview with the Gurkha Commander.

but attached personally to me, who might be removed soon to another command. His answer was that he did not wish it on such an account, but to prove our personal friendship; and the ceremony was generally adjusted by himself, except that, as Mr. Ochterlony did not wear a turband, I desired that he might present his new brother with a *khillut* in which there should be a turband and receive one in return.

10. On my taking leave none of the usual ceremonies of exchanging presents as in Hindoostan occurred, but he requested I would allow his relation, Bhugty Thappa, to visit me at Punjore the following day, as he and many of his troops were very anxious to see us, but he had not permitted them to accompany him till he could ascertain that such a crowd would not be disagreeable.

11. This relation, attended by a most curious rabble called troops, visited me the following day, bringing with him from Ummer Sing many birds, some deer and other animals, natives of the hills, but none either curious or rare, excepting a female musk deer, which, if thought worthy of conveyance, shall be forwarded to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General by the earliest opportunity.

Reception at Mani Májra.

12. On the 12th we arrived at Munny Majra, where the Rajah, Gopaul Sing, expressed his gratitude for the honors recently conferred upon him through the kind consideration of the British Government; and here I received the representation of which No. 2 is a translation,[1] and forms one of many instances and proofs that an inadequate knowledge of their own situation, and a dread of the power of Jodh Sing, Kulsia, has induced numbers, against their inclinations and to their great loss, to accompany that Chief on his excursions to the Punjaub from which he alone reaps advantage from the bounty of Runjeet, at the expense of those who acquired their possessions, as he did his own, by division in their earliest conquests, and many of whom had originally much larger shares and superior power.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

13. From Munny Majra I proceeded to Ramgarh and from Ramgarh to Raipoor. I went round by the village of Berowley, one of the late usurpations of Ummer Sing, which village I found to consist of not more than at the utmost *twenty* houses, but situate (notwithstanding all I had heard) most decidedly on the hills which I consider as the Goorkha territory, and for which it is easy to account only by supposing that the choice was made to secure them against the anarchy, discord and confusion which prevailed amongst the Sikhs themselves till our arrival. The arable land, however, (which is considerable), belonging to the village is as decidedly on the plain, within the protected districts, but, having ascertained its exact situation, I thought it my duty to write to the proprietors that, though the lands were on the plain, the site of the village was not only contrary to what they had stated, but highly objectionable, and if they did not remove the village to the plains, which alone were valuable, I should not think it my duty to make any exertions in their favor if any future disputes should occur.

Visit to villages recently restored by the Gurkhas.

14. Between Raipoor and Naraingarh I again struck towards the hills and inspected the late scene of contest, Moondlai, which is what they call a *gurhy* with small hollow bastions with walls hardly so thick as a common dwelling house; but, though neither so high on the hills or distinctly marked as Berowley, is still on a small table-land at their very base, and in truth so connected with them that were it not for the circumstance of the cultivatable lands belonging to it being also on the plain, our right of interference would have been questionable; and I again from Naraingarh wrote to the proprietors at Ramgarh my observations respecting the site of Moondlai, but as I proceeded I heard of others belonging to Surdars of the protected districts, and, unless the cultivatable land rather than the site of the village is to be the criterion of protection, it may be difficult to decide on future claims, though I do not apprehend any are likely to arise, for it appears to me that Ummer Sing would have used other arguments in our late discussions if he had not

truly considered that the only value of the villages was in the arable lands attached to them on the plain.

Visit to Sadhaura.

15. From Naraingarh I proceeded to Sadhowra, where I took the opportunity of fully investigating Jodh Sing Kulsiah's right of expelling Punjaub Sing from the property in that *talooqua*.

Aggressions of Jodh Singh, Kalsia.

16. This petty Surdar had fled to Putteealah on the seizure of his lands, and had gone with the troops ordered to effect the evacuation of Moondlai with the small number of his adherents, and his first representations artfully stated that his joining the Ranee's troops in obedience to my orders was the sole cause of the enmity and ill-usage he had received. This representation, seconded and confirmed by letters from Putteealah, induced me to write to Jodh Sing that I had strong doubts whether he had any real authority over Punjaub Sing, but if he was his *Missuldar* or even his household servant he should not lose a *beegah* of ground for serving the British Government and obeying my orders.

17. Jodh Sing replied that the complainant was his *Missuldar*, but that it was only for old offences that he had confiscated his property, and, so far from considering his obedience to my orders as a crime, he himself had sent a small party to join the Putteealah troops.

18. The translation No. 3[1] is drawn up from the answers I received myself during my stay there from one of the oldest and best informed inhabitants, and from replies given to an under-moonshy whom I ordered to remain behind to prosecute the enquiry, giving him leading points for his guidance in the investigation.

19. From this prolix detail it will be most satisfactorily proved to His Lordship in Council that, although Punjaub Sing did not suffer from the cause he represented, he did not owe the smallest portion of his possessions to the bounty of Jodh Sing, Kulsia; that in truth his first offence was his resisting what he considered an undue exercise of authority,

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

and the second his not obeying an order to attend him to the Punjaub, in which, particularly in the expedition to Cashmere, they had sustained great loss, whilst he alone received remuneration. The only kindness which he received was the temporary shelter of his mother, and his influence (not his active interference) to obtain her leave to reside in her own house unmolested, but without the means of subsistence. To counterbalance this solitary act of kindness, he had previously seized their principal village that gave name to the tribe of Zufferpooreans, which he retains to this day.

Aggressions of Jodh Singh, Kalsia.

20. Of the horse which he constantly carries into the Punjaub to attend in all Runjeet's expeditions, a very large proportion is of the description of people who, without possessing anything by his gift, joined him, as his power increased, either to secure themselves from his vengeance, in the hope of plunder, or a combination of both (manuscript illegible).

21. As there is no longer plunder on this side and their attendance on the other is attended with loss, they revolt at this forced service, and view with envy the comparative ease and comfort of those of their brethren who are attached to Chiefs having no connection with Runjeet, and call for the performance of such duties as they willingly perform and leave them much leisure to remain at home and superintend the shares acquired by their ancestors.

22. I trust it will appear to His Lordship in Council that, if Jodh Sing was less decidedly and notoriously hostile to the British Government, and it was not a matter of policy to lessen his influence, still that this class of people would merit relief, and humanity would interfere to prevent their being forced from their homes to distant and dangerous expeditions for the mere purpose of aggrandizing an individual at their expense.

23. If it is not thought necessary to prevent his taking such as choose to follow his fortunes, it seems unjust that he should compel others to share them who are satisfied with the comfort they might enjoy under British protection, and who

Aggressions of Jodh Singh, Kalsia.

cannot be thought the less entitled to it because they are weak and he is powerful.

24. Of a still more oppressive description is No. 4[1] from the Patans of Khizerabad, from whom, having wrested one-half of their original possessions, he now wishes to demand personal service.

Settlement of disputes at Búriya.

25. From Khizerabad I proceeded to Booriah, where I had the greatest pleasure in settling all causes of dispute and effecting what I hope will prove a cordial and permanent reconciliation between the two sons of Shair Sing, and, though I was not so successful in getting the confidential servants of these youths to agree to a compromise of any kind between them and the Ranee of Bhugwan Sing, who now holds the other half of Booriah, yet, as they have now no just ground of cavil or discord, I hope, though I could not make them friends, their enmity will no longer be attended with those atrocities which have hitherto attended it.

System of forced labour between Karnál and Ludhiána.

26. On my return towards Loodeana, and as soon as I entered the road that leads from Kurnaul to Loodeana, I was harassed and grieved at every stage to hear that the detachments passing and repassing between these two stations, and even individual sepahees going on leave or discharged the service, were in the habit of seizing people *(beegars)* to carry their baggage. I could only promise that I would give the subject consideration and endeavour to find a remedy.

27. Cruel and oppressive as this practice appears, it is, I believe, general throughout Hindoostan, and every village gives up a portion of its land to *Chumars* who are bound to perform this service ; but it is not to be doubted that this arrangement was intended for the benefit of individual travellers, and that large bodies passing must require much greater aid than such an establishment can yield or so small a part of the population furnish, and it therefore happens that women, children and others of the better classes are seized for these purposes.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

28. I am aware that this practice is expressly prohibited in our own provinces, but I am assured from what I consider very good authority that it still in a certain degree prevails, and that the only places really exempt from the oppression are those where police thanas are actually established.

System of forced labour between Karnál and Ludhiána.

29. It should be the duty of the Commanding Officers of Loodeana and of Kurnaul to take care, when detachments are ordered to pass through this country, most particularly to explain that no seizures of this kind will be permitted, and that they must take with them the carriage requisite for the conveyance of their baggage; but in order to give greater effect to this prohibition I would most humbly suggest that the general orders and regulations on this subject should be declared expressly to extend to the Protected districts.

30. In order, on the other hand, to remedy any inconvenience or distress which might be sustained from this regulation in cases of casualties on the march, I would beg leave to be allowed to write to the several Chiefs on the roads that they are expected and enjoined to give every assistance to British troops passing, who will pay for whatever is received, but that in the particular instance of *beegars* the Thanadars should be directed to comply with any requisition from an officer to the very extent of his means, and that for every man so required he should previously receive at the rate of four pice per man for the succeeding march, in order that the people so employed might clearly understand their services were not insisted on without a due reward.

31. If the Thanadars were once authorised to refuse these people without they received an advance, I have no doubt that a very great source of oppression would cease, in its being no longer demanded by the smaller detachments and by individual sepahees or travellers who now claim the assistance authoritatively.

32. I take the liberty to recommend this subject to the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council as one which affects our character with our protégés, who perhaps have heard of our prohibitive rules on this

subject in our own territory and may be astonished at its usual adoption in their own.

Duties on timber.

33. I now come to the 5th [1] and last document accompanying this dispatch, and beg leave to mention that the duties said to be paid on a float of timber are, I have not the least doubt, perfectly correct, as I ordered them to be purchased for myself and taken all the way to Kurnaul for the express purpose of ascertaining at what ghauts duties were levied and what from each. The other paper is made out from my own enquiries at and between Khizerabad and Pounta (the Kaardeh post) and from the accounts of a man whom I employed very shortly after the receipt of your instructions to that effect.

34. It was ascertained to my perfect satisfaction that his account of the several ghauts and the sum for which they were farmed was correct, but it was not found practicable to conjecture what portion of this sum could be reckoned as timber duties; but with the information now obtained a specific demand may be made of what they themselves estimate the timber duties, without danger of great exaggeration. I am, however, now perfectly satisfied that this source of vexation, trouble and inconvenience to individuals as well as travellers does not yield the annual sum of 5,000 rupees to the whole body of proprietors of ghauts. If stated at much less it would perhaps be nearer the truth, but the duties, though in the aggregate very considerable, are not the worst effect of their interference, for I believe a float seldom passes in which part is not stolen by their servants or for themselves, and sometimes of four or five one complete float is seized as recently done by a son of Jodh Sing, Kulsiah.

35. It may be thought most proper and dignified in the British Government to make a reasonable compensation to the proprietors of these ghauts; but if it is so done, I beg leave to express my hope that it will be offered, authoritatively and expressly, to take from them the shadow of a pretext for the obstruction of any timber whatever, public or private. But

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

the more I reflect on the subject—and I have given it every consideration since the receipt of your letter—the more I am convinced that not one of the Surdars will consider himself repaid by any sum which can be given to restrain him from exercising what he in his pride considers a privilege of his sovereignty. I therefore do not really think, notwithstanding the essential benefit conferred should render these duties but as a straw, they would feel or acknowledge either justice or generosity in the intended compensation, and I am most humbly of opinion that a right which they will not willingly and gratefully compromise had better be abolished by authority.

36. No. 5 [1] would have been the subject of a separate dispatch, if I had not perceived on the list of ghauts where duties are levied one (Dakowly) belonging to Goolaub Sing of Thaneisur. **Robbery of a banker in Thánesar territory.**

37. When the Right Hon'ble the late Governor-General so far consulted the inclinations and feelings of the Protected Surdars as to determine it unadvisable to establish a judicial tribunal within their territory, he still deemed it expedient to afford protection and redress to British subjects to a certain extent by directing that offenders should be sent for trial to the Resident of Dehli, and it should have been the wish, as it was the duty, of Goolaub Sing to have a full investigation of the conduct of the Goojers, Roopa and Salabut, who had given such just ground of their being parties or accessory to the plunder of the banker's servants by their detention during the day and their expulsion from the village at an hour when they knew there was great danger of the fact which did actually occur. No positive proof of their being actually concerned in the deed was brought forward, and, if he had not been apprehensive that an enquiry would establish their guilt, or that they had acted under his authority and given him a share of the plunder, there appears no good reason for his refusal to send them either to Dehli or Loodeana.

38. If they were considered innocent, they would have been unpunished by the Resident of Dehli, and if they were

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Robbery of a banker in Thánesar territory.

guilty, chastisement would have been merited. By screening the offenders he increases the suspicion, by the parties injured most firmly believed, that he participated largely in the plunder of their property, and that these men and others are maintained by him for such purposes. Had the bankers been inhabitants of Thaneisur and Pulwul had been a village belonging to another Surdar, Goolaub Sing, according to the usage of this country, would have first made his complaint to the proprietary Surdar and established the fact of the robbery within the limits of his village and jurisdiction, and failing of redress, if he thought himself equal in strength or power, he would have taken the first opportunity of carrying off the cattle of the place accused, or he would have seized and detained the first inhabitant of Pulwul he could lay hold of till his subjects were indemnified.

39. This is the constant practice, and it is not long since a complaint was made in exactly a similar case that Bhunga Sing, the uncle of Goolaub Sing, had seized four hundred head of cattle from a village belonging to Booriah, on the ground that an inhabitant of Thaneisur had been robbed of 1,300 rupees, and the people of Booriah only complained of this act because it was done without any previous demand on them for justice and without establishing the fact that the robbery was committed at the village to which the cattle belonged.

40. That justice therefore, which he would have been compelled to do to the dependant of another Surdar, he refuses to the British Government because he has not yet seen an instance of their indemnifying their subjects by the seizure of cattle, or by any positive demand of restitution, in the numerous instances of robbery which have occurred to detachments and individuals at and in the vicinity of Thaneisur.

41. It will not, I trust, be denied that, whilst the British Government affords its benignant and gratuitous protection to a whole country, the servants and dependants of that Government should pass through it unmolested, but I much fear such effects will not be the spontaneous result of the consideration or gratitude of those protected; and, as a

most unmerited delicacy has decided that a judicial tribunal shall not be established, I am persuaded there will be no prevention of these frequent acts of plunder but by a specific and distinct notification to all the Surdars that they must be themselves responsible for the full amount, given on oath, of all losses sustained by British subjects within their respective territories.

Robbery of a banker in Thánesar territory.

42. It is in the instance of Goolaub Sing of Thaneisur most clearly proved that the robbery took place in his lands; that his people detained the banker's servants during the day and forcibly expelled them towards evening; that the men guilty of this forcible detention were pointed out in his presence and are the dependants, if not the hired servants, of Goolaub Sing; and that he has declined sending these persons to Loodeana or Dehli for investigation of their conduct.

43. Under all these circumstances it appears a duty incumbent on me to recommend that a demand of the restitution of the 1,760 rupees should in the first instance be made from Goolaub Sing, and in the event of his refusal that the village and ghaut of Dakowly should be taken possession of by a British force, and either kept entirely or till the full amount of the loss sustained by the bankers is collected from the ghaut and produce of the village.

44. I venture most humbly to recommend this measure in the firm persuasion that one instance of the exercise of such authority will have the most salutary consequences, if not entirely put a stop to the practice of robbery and even more effectually than a demand that the perpetrators shall be delivered up to justice.

45. It remains for me now only to express my hope that His Lordship in Council will receive the sentiments and suggestions which I have thought it my duty to offer with that indulgence I have been accustomed to experience, and to assure you that if I have failed in obtaining all the ends I proposed by my excursion it has not been from want of exertion or diligence.

46. This dispatch will, as usual, be forwarded through the Resident of Dehli, and, whilst his superior judgment will aid, amend and support any useful suggestion, his local experience and information will correct my opinions on any proposition of an unadvisable or improper tendency. To suppress abuse and unjustifiable oppression, to prevent plunder, and to show the British Government mild and just, but firm in the exercise of their undoubted authority, are the objects of my anxious solicitude; but whether the means I have ventured humbly to propose are best for their attainment is for the enlightened judgment and wisdom of His Lordship in Council to determine.

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163. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 187, dated Loodeana, the 20th of December 1813.*

Overtures made by the Gurkha Commander.

IN my report of the 18th instant, No. 186,[1] I omitted to mention that the visit of Bhugty Sing Thappa on the 11th at Punjore had other objects than the mere delivery of the birds, &c., or of seeing me. After having presented these articles and requesting my acceptance of them as of no value, but as curiosities, the produce of the barren hills he commanded, he requested a private conference, in which he stated at great length, and as he said by desire of Ummer Sing Thappa, a detail of the siege of Kangra, and attributed their final retreat, not to the superior conduct or bravery of Runjeet and his forces, but to an unmerited confidence in the most solemn promises of Runjeet, which to the last moment had deceived them by assurances that he had no intention to interfere in the engagement which Sunsar Chund had entered into of delivering that fort on a particular day; that Ummer Sing was most anxious to retrieve the credit he had lost by being the dupe of this treachery and to punish it, and wished to obtain my permission to make a second attack on the fort of Kangra and to obtain my advice on the subject. I told

[1] 162 *supra*.

him that Kangra was a place which did not in any shape belong to us, or come under our protection, and that of course Ummer Sing might act as he pleased on the subject; but if he asked my private opinion as to the expediency, I thought there was little chance of his succeeding in an enterprize which before cost him more than three years' labor when only defended by Sunsar Chund, and that he must be aware that the place was now plentifully stocked with provisions and would not only be defended by a strong garrison within, but by a numerous force without.

Overtures made by the Gurkha Commander.

2. He wished to insinuate from his reply that Ummer Sing thought himself equal to cope with any troops Runjeet would bring if assured of our non-interference; but at length plainly said that Ummer Sing "considered us only here with an intention to advance hereafter and possess ourselves of the Punjaub." I assured him that this idea was most erroneous, and that whilst Runjeet observed, as he had hitherto done, his engagements with the British Government such an event was impossible, and that Ummer Sing might easily see that the Government could have no wish to extend its power or increase its revenue by the simple fact of our affording a gratuitous protection to the Sikh Surdars on this side the Sutledge.

3. Though he did not speak his sentiments in plain terms, I could easily perceive that he did not give due credit to my assertions, and that the fact I alluded to as well as my denial of any future attempt on the Punjaub were, the one considered only in furtherance of a greater object, and the other attributed to a deep policy which sought to conceal it; but he pretended to acquiesce and relinquished the subject. He then disclosed the evident motive which had led to the exchange of turbands, which had excited my surprise, by mentioning that the youth who had become the adopted brother of Mr. Ochterlony was afflicted by a certain disorder which had attained a dreadful height, was daily undermining his constitution and had baffled all the skill of their best physicians, and he made an urgent request that one of our Surgeons might be sent to attend him.

Medical treatment of the son of the Gurkha Commander.

Medical treatment of the son of the Gurkha Commander.

4. In reply I assured him that, if one could have been spared, I would with pleasure have asked a gentleman to comply with his wishes, but we had so few that it was impossible ; but if the Kajee would send the young man to Loodeana, he should be taken the greatest care of and a medical gentleman would give him the best advice.

5. The young man accordingly arrived here on the 6th instant and lives in tents near my house pitched for his accommodation, and the letter of which I have the honor to transmit a translation was written in consequence of this lad having repeated the same proposals and many of the same arguments made use of by Bhugty Sing Thappa at Punjore.

6. Considering it my duty to transmit the letter, I have been obliged to enter this explanation, as it would have been unintelligible without a reference to the preceding conversations and the circumstance of the son of Ummer Sing being now at Loodeana.

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164. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—No. 186, dated the 4th February 1814.*

Orders of Government on the preceding despatches.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches Nos. 186 and 187,[1] under dates the 18th and 20th December, and to communicate to you the following observations and instructions on the several points to which they refer.

2. I am in the first place instructed to signify to you the approbation of His Excellency in Council of the general tenor of your proceedings, as described in your dispatch No. 186, and the satisfaction which Government has derived from the information which it affords of the tranquil and prosperous condition of the countries under the protection of the British Government, and the feeling of respect for its authority and reliance on its justice which appears to prevail among the Chiefs and inhabitants.

[1] 162 and 163 *supra*.

3. I now proceed to advert to the particular questions referred by you in the order in which they are treated in your dispatch.

4. The tenor of your reply to the application of Bhoop Sing, the Chief of Rooper, is entirely approved, and the answers subsequently returned by you to his written questions were equally proper. Case of Sardar of Rúpar.

5. Runjeet Sing can on no pretext claim the service of Chieftains not possessing lands within the territory subject to his authority, and, so far from admitting such a right, the only hesitation which Government feels on the subject is whether the Chiefs under our protection and not holding lands on the right bank of the Sutledge should be permitted to attend Runjeet Sing on his military expeditions. It may be presumed, however, that few of them who are not under such an obligation will have any inclination to afford him military service, and it will therefore not be expedient to prohibit it by any express declaration which would perhaps wear an unfriendly appearance to Runjeet Sing. If it should appear to you, however, on further reflexion that any essential object would be gained by formally prohibiting this practice, you are requested to state your sentiments on the subject for the consideration of Government. Question of right of Ranjit Singh to claim service from the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs.

6. The sentiments of gratitude expressed by Rajah Ram Surn for the seasonable interposition of the British Government in his favor have afforded great satisfaction to the mind of the Governor-General in Council, and the improved state of his territory below the hills has gratified His Excellency in Council in a high degree, as strongly exemplifying the advantages resulting from the protection of the British Power. Gratitude of Chief of Hindour.

7. His Excellency in Council is pleased to observe that the young Rajah of Putteealah is engaged with his Minister, Misser Nowdha, in the correction of abuses and the introduction of reforms, and that Misser Nowdha continues to possess the confidence and to guide the counsels of the Rajah.

Approval of conferences with the Gurkha Commander.

8. The result of your conference with Ummer Sing Thappa and with his relation Bhugtee Thappa appears to have been on the whole very satisfactory. The virtual admission on the part of Ummer Sing of the justice of the late proceedings of the British Government relative to the villages of Bhutowly and to the lands of Berouly and Mundlai is particularly so.

9. His Excellency in Council approves of your availing yourself of the favorable opportunity described by you of conciliating Ummer Sing Thappa by an act of kindness to his son. The tenor of your reply to Ummer Sing's proposition conveyed through Bhugtee Thappa and afterwards repeated by Ummer Sing's son, as reported in your dispatch No. 187, was in all respects proper and judicious.

10. The birds, deer and other hill animals presented to you by Ummer Sing may be sent to the Presidency by a convenient opportunity consigned to the Persian Secretary to Government.

Approval of reply given to the Chief of Mani Májra.

11. The Governor-General in Council concurs in the justice of your observations relative to Gopaul Sing of Munny Majra. The tenor of your reply to his statement appears to be equitable and proper, and it will probably remove the apprehension which he entertained of the power and enmity of Jodh Sing, Kulseea.

Case of villages of Berouli and Mundlai.

12. The discovery that the actual site of Berouly and Mundlai, though indicating extreme want of ingenuousness on the part of the persons interested in the late question regarding those villages, does not in any respect invalidate the grounds on which the decision of the British Government was passed, since the whole of the arable land depending on them appears to be situated below the hills, and is therefore justly held to be under the protection of this Government on the principle which has been maintained by it and virtually admitted by Ummer Sing and the Government of Nipaul.

13. Your advice and warning to the proprietors was highly proper, and, as the motives for building these villages

in the hills may now be considered to be removed by the restoration of tranquillity in the low lands, it is to be hoped that the inhabitants will withdraw to the plains as the most effectual means of preventing the occurrence of future disputes.

14. The principle suggested by you of making the right to our protection turn upon the local position of the land fit for cultivation, rather than the site of the village, is considered to be just and consistent with the system on which Government has hitherto proceeded of rendering the hills the boundary between the two States where no special circumstances exist to oppose that arrangement.

Case of Chiefs of Kalsia and Thánesar.

15. The Governor-General in Council has examined with attention the documents transmitted by you on the subject of the relative claims of Jodh Sing, Kulseea, and Punjab Sing and the remarks on that subject contained in your dispatch.

16. It would appear from the information which you have collected that Punjab Sing acknowledges that he placed himself under the authority of Jodh Sing, an admission which accords with Jodh Sing's assertion that Punjab Sing is his *Missuldar*. Before Government can pronounce on the justice or injustice of Jodh Sing's conduct, it will be necessary to ascertain the nature and extent of the association implied by that term. The offence of Punjab Sing as described by himself was a voluntary exertion on his part for the relief of others from the oppressions of Roostum, a *mirdha* of Jodh Sing, by inflicting punishment on him which constituted a very natural, if not a just, provocation on the part of his master. If Jodh Sing was entitled to command the services of Punjab Sing (a right implied by the subjection in which Punjab Sing placed himself), the former might not unjustly punish the latter for withholding them. It is not quite clear to Government that Punjab Sing did not owe the recovery of his lands from the usurpation of Chohar Sing to the aid of Jodh Sing.

Case of Chiefs of Kalsia and Thánesar.

17. It is further to be observed that Punjab Sing solicited our aid under false pretence,—a circumstance which necessarily tends to shake the confidence of Government in the justice of his cause. Moreover, Government is at present possessed of the statement of Punjab Sing only, and is not apprised of what Jodh Sing may be able to offer in opposition to that statement and in defence of his own proceedings.

18. That the conduct of Jodh Sing as described by Punjab Sing is consistent with the violence and injustice of Jodh Sing's character cannot be denied, but before any proceeding can be founded on the representation of Punjab Sing it will be necessary to establish its correctness on a more firm basis than his unsupported assertion. His Excellency in Council therefore desires that you will convey a representation on the subject to Jodh Sing and call on him for an explanation of the circumstances, upon which, accompanied by the result of such further enquiry as you may judge it necessary to pursue, the Governor-General *in Council* will be enabled to determine what ulterior proceedings it will be proper to adopt.

Case of Pathans of Khizarábad.

19. The case of the Patans of Khizerabad, if their statement be correct, is, as you have remarked, an instance of very grievous oppression on the part of Jodh Sing. But in this case also the Government is in possession only of an *ex parte* statement, and it would be desirable to obtain more precise information of the obligations involved in their connection with Jodh Sing. It appears by their own representation that they pay tribute or revenue to Jodh Sing,—a circumstance which gives room to believe that they are his subjects or dependants.

20. Your attention has already been drawn in the 5th paragraph of this dispatch to the general question of the expediency of permitting Jodh Sing, or any Chief, in the interests of Runjeet Sing to employ the services even of those Chieftains who are willing to afford them.

Forced labour.

21. The Governor-General in Council highly approves of your having brought under His Excellency's notice the abuse described in the 26th paragraph of your dispatch,—an abuse which demands an immediate remedy. That which you have suggested, namely the introduction into the Protected districts of the regulations already in force in the Honorable Company's territories, accompanied by notice to the Chiefs of the districts through which the principal roads lie, would probably be as effectual a one as can be adopted. The necessary measures will accordingly be taken for declaring the extension of the rules above referred to to the Sikh territory between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and you will be pleased to address the several Chiefs in the manner you propose.

Timber duties.

22. The Governor-General in Council has given a full consideration to the suggestions which you have offered relative to the duties levied on timber by the Sikh Chiefs on the Jumna. From the information obtained by your diligence it appears that the whole amount of these collections is so inconsiderable as to render the payment of even double the amount, by way of compensation to the Chiefs for relinquishing the duties, a consideration of little moment compared with the advantage of removing the existing restraints on a trade which is understood to be of so much importance to the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces.

23. In considering your proposition for abolishing by authority the right exercised by the Chiefs in question of levying duties, His Excellency in Council has referred to the Proclamation, which was issued by you under the authority of the Governor-General in Council in the year 1809, and His Excellency apprehends that the comprehensive terms of the 3rd article, which is transcribed in the margin, must be considered to preclude any authoritative abolition of duties which the parties have been accustomed to collect.

"3rd. The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were taken under the British protection."

Timber duties. 24. The abolition of these duties, then, without compensation for the sacrifice, can only be effected by means of negotiation and by an adjustment with the consent of the Chiefs interested, and even the proposed commutation could scarcely be rendered a measure of compulsion. On the whole, then, it is the desire of Government that proposition may be made to the parties to surrender the right of collecting duties on timber in exchange for a fixed payment in money, the amount of which you are authorized to fix at a rate not exceeding double the estimated amount of the duties collected, taking them at 5,000 rupees per annum.

25. His Lordship in Council is aware that considerable difficulty must attend the apportionment of this sum, and that it will involve the necessity of a negotiation with every Chief who at present levies duties above Kurnaul, but is unwilling to relinquish the object in view without a trial. In the event of its success, Government will deem it equitable to obtain a partial compensation by enhancing the duty levied at Kurnaul. You will of course endeavour to reduce the amount of compensation to the Sikh Chiefs as much below the maximum above authorized as may be practicable.

26. From the information which you have obtained of the rates at which the general duties at the several ghauts are farmed and what you consider to be correct, it would seem that the whole amount of duties derived by the Chiefs collectively from their possession of the ghauts is upwards of Rupees 10,000 per annum. It would certainly be desirable to effect the abolition of all duties levied by the Sikh Chiefs on the Jumna, but, besides the additional charge which the compensation would produce, it might be more easy to obtain the surrender of the timber duties only, by which means they would not only be great gainers in a pecuniary point of view, but would still retain the privilege of sovereignty to which they are supposed to attach a considerable value. It would be necessary in such an arrangement to stipulate that the remaining articles should not be rendered liable to a higher rate of duty than at present.

27. Any arrangement which may be effected relative to these collections must include those levied by Begum Sumroo, with whom the Resident at Dehli will be instructed to negotiate, and he will regulate his proceedings so as to render them as nearly as possible correspondent with yours.

Robbery in Thánesar territory.

28. The only remaining point in your dispatch requiring observation is the course of proceeding to be pursued towards Surdar Golaub Sing of Thanaisur, within whose jurisdiction a robbery was committed on the servants of Moolchund and Gunga Ram, Bankers, of Lodhiana.

29. The circumstances stated in the depositions taken by you constitute the strongest presumptive evidence that the robbery was committed by the two Goojurs, Roopa and Sulabut. It is equally clear that Golaub Sing is diposed to screen them and to evade the restitution of the plundered property, which under the circumstances of the case and the local practice of the country he is bound to make good.

Responsibility of Chiefs for thefts within their territories.

30. The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the justice of your observations on this subject, and approves of your suggestion that a public notification should be issued declaring all the Sikh Chiefs under the protection of the British Government to be personally responsible for the value, stated on oath, of all property plundered from British subjects within their respective jurisdictions. You will accordingly be pleased to promulgate a notification to this effect in the name of the Governor-General in Council.

Demand of redress from Chief of Thánesar.

31. With respect to the particular case of Golaub Sing, you will be pleased to apprize that Chief that the circumstance of the robbery of the bankers' servants has been reported by you to the Governor-General in Council, and that you have been instructed by His Excellency in Council to demand restitution of the amount, either by immediate payment or by such instalments as you may settle, and that in case of failure you have been authorized to take such measures as may be necessary for enforcing payment.

32. If this demand will not be complied with, you will be pleased to carry into effect the measure which you have

suggested of occupying the village and ghaut of Dakowlie by a British force and retaining it until the amount plundered from the bankers shall either be repaid or made good from the produce of the village and ghaut.

33. You will of course apply for any aid, which may be required for giving effect to these instructions, to Mr. Metcalfe, to whom this dispatch will, as usual, be transmitted under an open cover, and who will consider it as conveying to him the requisite authority for complying with any application which you may make to him.

Commendation of Colonel Ochterlony.

34. In concluding this dispatch I am instructed to assure you that the Governor-General in Council entertains the highest sense of the great knowledge and ability manifested by you in the course of the proceedings to which it refers, as well as of the general merits of your conduct in the performance of the delicate and arduous duties of your station.

CHAPTER IV.

1814-15.

Suspension of commercial intercourse with the Nepalese—Impending hostilities with the Gurkhas—Timber duties—Account of the hill districts occupied by the Gurkhas—Appointment of Colonel D. Ochterlony to command the force proceeding against the Gurkhas—Arrival of family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiana—Overtures of the Gurkha Commander—Representation of Begum Samru—Escape of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk from Lahore—Acknowledgment of services of Major-General D. Ochterlony—Appointment of Major-General Ochterlony as Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General in the territories of the Protected Sikh and Hill Chiefs—Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

165. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 188, dated the 26th of May 1814.*

Correspondence between Colonel Ochterlony and the Gurkha Commander.

I have the honor to transmit herewith the copy of a letter which I judged it expedient to send to Ummer Sing Thappa in consequence of an *urzee* sent by him to me and intended for transmission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

2. It was left open, and, as the best elucidation of my own letter, I directed my moonshy to take a copy, though I deemed it improper to send it as an official document.

3. I really feel at a loss whether to ascribe the tenor of it to his own orders or to the ignorance of the people employed to write his or explain my letters.

Correspondence between Colonel Ochterlony and the Gurkha Commander.

4. From every conversation held with his son or servants, as well as from my different letters, he might easily have seen that I did not wish to be made the channel of any communication to Government from the Rajah of Napaul, and of this proposition in particular that I could not see the object or utility. I certainly did not tell him, as perhaps I ought, what I suppose to be his only reason for wishing any document in the nature of a treaty, and which it occurs to me can only be to forward his own views in his meditated enterprizes on Kote Kangra and the country across the Sutledge by publishing that he has the concurrence of the British Government and the chance of the probable inference that they will be seconded and supported by their troops, and, supposing him to have reasoned so deeply, which is perhaps giving him too much credit, that such an idea promulgated would lessen the force against himself by inducing Runjeet to retain troops to watch the motions of this detachment.

5. It is, however, very difficult to assign motives for the actions of men who seem hardly to possess the faculty of reason, or doubt its existence in those with whom they have a point to carry; and what we have experienced from Ummer Sing in the late disputes does very little credit to his understanding and carries the fullest conviction of his falsehood and rapacity.

6. I have been the more cautious on this occasion from a suspicion that, though I may not hit upon the real object, it must be to answer some particular end in this quarter, or it could not have been necessary to make me the channel of communication when Major Bradshaw is on the frontier of their country and so much nearer to the Rajah's capital and the British seat of Government.

Return of the son of the Gurkha Commander to his home. Ungracious treatment of Mr. Dickson, who cured him.

7. After four months' care and attention to the son of Ummer Sing, Mr. Dickson thought he might return with safety, and, as the father had earnestly entreated that the physician who had attended might accompany him to Urkhee, I thought it but justice to Mr. Dickson to acquiesce in his request, imagining that the desire to see him was to make him some recompense for saving the life of the youth, which they

generally acknowledged had been done ; but it appears from that gentleman's account that, so far from offering him any proper compensation for his care and trouble, they wished to retain him in their country by denying him a *jhumpaun*, the only conveyance suited to the country, and by withholding from him every assistance for the conveyance of his baggage, though he represented the necessity of his immediate return and that he had only twenty days' leave of absence. He came away travelling, on foot and on horseback, as well as he could over the mountains, and the people who were sent after him to see him through the country did not scruple to assert that they had instructions to obstruct him in his journey as much as they could without absolutely detaining him, and if possible to oblige him to return for want of the necessary supplies.

8. I take the liberty of mentioning these circumstances in the hope that the Right Honorable the Governor-General may be pleased to order some remuneration to Mr. Dickson for much attention, care and trouble, and which ought to have been rendered unnecessary if Ummer Sing Thappa had possessed either liberality or gratitude.

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166. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 190, dated the 6th of June 1814.*

Overtures received by Colonel Ochterlony from Hukma Singh, Killadar of Lahore.

I do not delay a moment in transmitting, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, the accompanying translations[1] of two very extraordinary letters received at a late hour yesterday evening.

2. They were written in the Goormookhi character, and explained sentence by sentence by the man who brought them. My reply in Persian was delivered on the instant to the

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

Overtures received by Colonel Ochterlony from Hukma Singh, Killadar of Lahore.

bearer, who was impatient to depart and extremely cautious of being seen.

3. His Lordship will very probably and with great reason suspect that so strange an offer, conducted in so strange a manner, could only be made as an experiment to try how I should act on the occasion, or that they are mere fabrications for the purpose of duping me out of the hundred rupees *"to be paid to the bearer."* Both these suspicions occurred to me, and I may be thought very credulous in declaring my belief that they are genuine; that the writers suppose they could effect what they promise; and that if I had sent an encouraging reply subsequent correspondence would have developed their schemes more completely, have probably shewn that they are only subordinate agents in some grand plot, and have explained the advantages they expect for themselves.

4. A universal discontent prevails, and some of the principal Surdars are most anxious to throw off the yoke which, if only occasionally burdensome and oppressive, is always mortifying to their pride. They cannot forget that Runjeet, whose summons to the field they now cannot disobey, was originally inferior in wealth and power to many over whom he rules with no lenient hand. They do not even feel security from obedience and submission, but are in constant dread that he will seek pretexts to seize their possessions or seize them without even a pretext. They consider themselves as the mere instruments of his aggrandizement, to be thrown away when his meditated conquests of Cashmere and Mooltan are completed. They see the Surdars on this side the Sutledge protected in their property, no large bodies of troops to maintain, and uncalled for to support any ambitious projects or incur the danger and fatigue of distant expeditions.

5. They see these things, and I cannot doubt that they envy them, independent of the dread universally entertained that their downfall is not far distant. They wish therefore to prevent it by his; and they may, and I have no doubt *do,*

hope that the change of masters would secure them their possessions, and perhaps on better or less expensive terms than they now retain them, compelled as they are to keep up as large a force as their revenues will retain.

Overtures received by Colonel Ochterlony from Hukma Singh, Killadar of Lahore.

6. I have been led into this repetition of my numerous reports on this subject to shew that if I am credulous in supposing the letters to be *bonâ fide* offers, the opinion is warranted by circumstances, and it seems to me to be strengthened rather than weakened by the folly or by the cunning of the man entrusted, who either accidentally betrayed that Hookma Sing was corresponding with Futteh Khan on the same subject, or designedly mentioned it to stimulate me to an earlier decision.

7. I do not, however, think myself at perfect liberty to attempt to discover whether Hookma Sing and the other persons mentioned *did* or did not write the letters of which I have sent translations, lest I should be condemned for entering into a correspondence in its nature not very honorable; but as the power and possessions of Runjeet increase he may at no distant period consider himself equal to a contest with the British Government. The idea once entertained, the attempt may be considered certain, and in the anticipation of the natural course of his unprincipled ambition my letter may be thought too abrupt, and that I might, believing the letters genuine, have left an opening for future intercourse and correspondence without affording the least encouragement to their immediate object.

8. If His Lordship should deem it either expedient or necessary, I think it would not be difficult to discover not only whether Hookma Sing wrote these letters, but to find out all his plans; but, being of opinion that it was a matter capable of discovery, I hope His Lordship will excuse my not engaging hastily in a business which could only be rendered justifiable by authority.

9. The time, as I have before stated, may arrive when Runjeet's successes may suggest a hope of equal success

Overtures received by Colonel Ochterlony from Hukma Singh, Killadar of Lahore.

against the British arms, and I feel confident that, the hope once formed, a trial would not be long delayed; but should he provoke hostility by aggression it may be justly a doubt whether policy would demand or justice require any compromise with subordinate Chiefs that could lessen or mutilate that territory, which I cannot doubt would be acquired by superior discipline in the cause of justice.

10. Should such an event take place earlier than I at present expect or than appearances indicate, and it were thought proper to extend the present system of protection to the banks of the Uttock, Runjeet's possessions alone would be fully adequate to the maintenance of an army more than sufficient for the maintenance of a defensive force, and I trust it will be thought time enough to look out for such characters as Hookma Sing when Runjeet has provoked resentment and deserved chastisement.

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167. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 29th of June 1814.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 6th instant, communicating the extraordinary overture received by you from Hookma Sing, the Killadar of Lahore, and enclosing a translation of your reply.

2. The Governor-General entertains no doubt of the genuineness of the overture from Hookma Sing, and is persuaded that an encouraging reply on your part would have produced on his a more frank disclosure of the nature and extent of the design which he and his partisans may entertain against the power and authority of Runjeet Sing, as well as his own particular views.

3. Your reply is entirely approved by the Governor-General, and is calculated, as far as it will be known, to improve the impression which former circumstances must have made on the Sikhs of the honor, good-faith and moderation of the British Government.

4. The attention of the Governor-General has been drawn to your observations and reflections on the probable course which the passions and feelings of Runjeet Sing may impel him to pursue hereafter in relation to the British Government. That Runjeet entertains a just notion of the superior power and greatness of the British Government, and that he is at this moment desirous of avoiding any hazard of incurring its resentment, and even of cultivating its friendship, His Excellency believes to be the case; but he does not regard as an improbable contingency the operation of a great change in the sentiments of Runjeet Sing in this respect if he shall continue to pursue with success the extensive schemes of conquest and aggrandizement which constitute his ruling passion and the unalterable object of all his measures. A further uninterrupted career of prosperity will, it is in the highest degree probable, lead him to form so erroneous and exaggerated an estimate of his own power, resources and military greatness as to induce him to believe that he may hazard a contest with the British Government.

Overtures received by Colonel Ochterlony from Hukma Singh, Killadar of Lahore.

5. It is unnecessary to add that, whatever may be the probability or correctness of this expectation, it would not excuse the British Government for engaging in any scheme against that Chief, or for affording the slightest countenance to his enemies or disaffected vassals and subjects, while he continues to abide by the terms of the existing engagements.

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168. *Extract paragraphs 7 and 8 of a letter No. 192, dated the 5th of July 1814, from Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government.*

[NOTE.—The first six paragraphs relate to subjects the papers connected with which have not been printed.]

7. In my dispatch of the 6th ultimo I expressed my belief that the letters I have received from Hookma Sing, &c., were genuine, and it now appears I was right in my first suspicion that it was only an attempt to rob me of

Letters from Hukma Singh, proved to be forgeries.

"a hundred rupees to the bearer," as the man availed himself of my seal and signature to the letter to Hookma Sing, and wrote a Persian order for 200 rupees on a Banker at Umritser for *"Secret Services,"* which the Banker refused, as the seal was placed improperly, or did not correspond to the usual mode of writing. He promised to call again for the money, and the Banker wrote to mine, excusing himself for not paying it if it was a genuine order, and to shew it if it was a forgery.

8. The frequent proofs I receive of a total want of principle and of a common attention to the duties of natural affection or gratitude led me in this instance to give too ready credit to Sikh baseness and treachery.

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169. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 10th of June 1814.*

Suspension of commercial intercourse with the Nepalese.

INFORMATION having been received of the expulsion, with considerable loss, of the *thannahs* established in the resumed lands of Bootwul, and of the re-occupation of those lands by the Nipaulese, the Governor-General in Council proposes to take into his immediate consideration the course of measures which it will be proper to adopt under the actual circumstances of the case. In the meanwhile His Excellency in Council has resolved that all commercial intercourse between the British possessions and the Nipaulese territory shall be suspended, and the necessary orders will be issued for carrying the prohibition into effect on the frontier of the Honorable Company's territories.

2. His Excellency in Council considers it to be of importance that the prohibition should be extended to the countries lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and I am accordingly directed to desire that you will take such measures as may be expedient in concert with the local Chieftains for effecting this object.

3. The Governor-General in Council does not apprehend that any objection will be made by those Chiefs, whose enmity to the Nipaulese will probably induce them to enter cordially into the plan, and into any other measures which may hereafter be determined on, and the spirit and nature of whose connection with the British Government entitles us to demand their aid in support of the rights and interests of that Government. Their cordial and voluntary concurrence in our views is of course, however, extremely desirable, both on general grounds and as the proposed prohibition of commercial intercourse cannot be enforced without their co-operation.

Suspension of commercial intercourse with the Nepalese.

4. Before the proposed suspension of commercial intercourse can, however, be proclaimed, it is necessary to afford time to enable Mr. Rutherford to withdraw the public servants and property of Government established under his superintendence within the Nipaulese territory. Mr. Rutherford will be instructed to take immediate measures for withdrawing them, and to notify his having done so to the several magistrates and other public officers concerned. You will accordingly suspend the execution of the instructions communicated in this dispatch until you receive a notification to the above effect from Mr. Rutherford. It is superfluous to enjoin the utmost secrecy with regard to the intentions of Government until the time for putting them in execution shall arrive.

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170. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 23rd of June 1814.*

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 26th May 1814,[1] enclosing a copy of your correspondence with Ummer Sing Thappa on the subject of his desire to transmit through you an *urzee* to His Excellency the Governor-General, accompanied by *khureetas* from the Rajah of Nepaul to His Lordship's address, and to inform you in reply that the tenor of your answer to Ummer Sing Thappa

Correspondence with the Gurkha Commander.

[1] 165 *supra.*

and your resolution to return the *khureetas* to him are entirely approved by His Excellency in Council.

Remuneration to Mr. Dickson for medical attendance on the son of the Gurkha Commander.

2. With reference to the concluding paragraph of your dispatch, I am directed to state to you that His Excellency in Council is disposed to grant some remuneration to Mr. Dickson for his attendance on Ummer Sing Thappa's son, which appears to have met with a very ungrateful return from that Chief. You will accordingly be pleased to state, for the consideration of His Lordship in Council, the amount of the remuneration which you may deem to be adequate to the occasion.

3. I am also directed to take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatch of the 1st instant, containing some further particulars of the treatment experienced by Mr. Dickson on his accompanying Ummer Sing Thappa's son to Urkee, and enclosing a sketch[1] of the route from Lodhiana to that place, and also a sketch of the routes from Lodhiana to Saharunpore and Kurnaul, with a recommendation that the route of the public dawk, which now proceeds by Putteealah, should proceed by Surhind and Umballa.

4. As it is always desirable to collect geographical information regarding places of which few opportunities offer of obtaining a correct knowledge, His Excellency in Council directs me to convey the acknowledgments of Government for the sketch of Mr. Dickson's route transmitted in your dispatch. With respect to the change of the route of the public dawk, the necessary communication on that subject will be made to the Post Master General.

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171. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 193, dated the 9th of July 1814.*

Correspondence between Colonel Ochterlony and the Gurkha Commander.

I HAVE the honor to transmit herewith a letter[1] to myself and an *urzee* for the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General received three days since from Ummer Sing Thappa, together with a copy and translation[1] of my reply which had been

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

written and despatched before I had the honor to receive the commands of His Lordship contained in your letter of the 10th ultimo.

Correspondence between Colonel Ochterlony and the Gurkha Commander.

2. I thought it necessary to inform Ummer Sing that, strictly speaking, his *urzee* should not have been sent to me, but I did not think it advisable to refuse its transmission, as being at that moment totally uninformed of the state of affairs in that quarter, it might contain some matter which His Lordship in Council might deem of importance, and I was more particularly induced to comply by the bold (but perhaps not the less false) assertion that some of the places mentioned had been many years possessed by his master the Rajah of Naipaul.

3. I have thought it the more necessary to offer this apology for stepping beyond the exact line of my duty as your letter received yesterday indicates that our thanas had been expelled from Palassean, which we had resumed, and consequently from such as had been proved to belong to us of right; and this act must have been done by troops belonging to Ummer Sing, as I believe his chief command extends from the Sutledge to some line below Bootwul, though divided amongst his family and relations into a number of subordinate. If I have erred in consenting to be the channel of any representation from Ummer Sing, I hope I shall be pardoned even on the ground of not seeming to throw any obstacle in the way of an early explanation and accommodation, and as it will afford an opportunity to His Lordship in Council of stating, or enabling me to state, what is expected from him.

Impending hostilities with the Gurkhas and probable co-operation of Hill Chiefs.

4. In consequence of your letter, I this morning sent for Captain Webb, the present Superintendent of Public Buildings at this station, and under a solemn promise of inviolable secrecy advised him to withdraw his people as early as possible from the Goorkha possessions in the valley of Kaardeh, where he has many people employed, and directed him to write that, as the rainy season would not permit them to work at that place, it was thought best to bring all the trees they had purchased to Loodeana without delay that they might be cut up under cover.

Impending hostilities with the Gurkhas and probable co-operation of Hill Chiefs.

5. In the way of military operations little can be expected from the Chiefs of this quarter from the very nature of the Goorkha possessions; but whenever hostilities shall be declared I dare say some bands of horse, best acquainted with the roads and passes, would be glad of an opportunity to enter the country for mere predatory purposes; and it may naturally be expected that the Rajah of Nahan and all the other petty Rajpoot Rajahs of the Twelve-Portions or *Barra Thakoorai* have some adherents in their respective countries and will be happy to avail themselves of any contest with the British Government to recover their possessions; and Sunsar Chund, the Katoach Rajah, would doubtless be glad to cross the Sutledge and revenge the loss of Kote Kangra, which he was compelled to yield to Runjeet for expelling them from his other possessions on that side, but whether to appropriate to himself or for the restoration of the former authorities may depend upon the intimation he receives of the wishes and intentions of the British Government as communicated to him by Mr. Metcalfe, who has a native agent at his Durbar. He has a considerable body of Infantry commanded by a deserter from one of His Majesty's regiments, who now calls himself *O'Brien*, but was enlisted under another name which *I do not at this moment* recollect, but is well known *in the 8th or 24th Dragoons*, and in his new situation professes to be very zealous to serve his country.

6. On the very first intimation of any disputes between the British Government and the Naipaulese it is natural to expect that I shall receive propositions from the agents of the fallen Rajpoot Chiefs, most of whom are now either banished from their respective territory or suffered to remain dependent on the Goorkhas for a scanty subsistence. Permit me to say how desirable it would be to receive early instructions as to the encouragement to be given to those between the Sutledge and Jumna.

7. Kishen Sing, a relation of the Nahan Rajah, an active man and brave soldier, who defended Nariengurh against Runjeet, is now I believe in the service of Putteealah, and might be usefully employed as a partizan in his native

country; whilst the greatest benefit might be derived from the local knowledge and experience of Khunugdeo, Jotshee, mentioned by Captain Hearsey, with whom I have no acquaintance, and have only heard of in terms which justify Captain Hearsey's idea that he would be useful.

Impending hostilities with the Gurkhas and probable co-operation of Hill Chiefs.

8. The Rajah of Nahan himself is a mere imbecile, and I fear not at all popular in his own country, where the inhabitants have been of late more reconciled to the Goorkha Government by the milder administration of Runjoor Sing, a son of Ummer Sing Thappa.

9. The valley of Kaardeh on this side the Sutledge, formerly under the Rajah of Nahan, is not, I believe, of very difficult access, and guns, I have reason to think, might be taken from one end to the other by the aid of a few Pioneers. The valley of Derah, which runs from Pounta, the ghaut of the Kaardeh valley on the Jumna, across the Doaub from the Jumna to the Ganges, has been very frequently traversed by English gentlemen, but not possibly with much observation as to military operations; but it is probable much information of that nature may be gained from Captain Hodgson, the Surveyor, now on his way to or at the Presidency. Captain Richard's letter, with Mr. Hearsey's observations, was forwarded to your address (No. 571) on the 23rd July 1813, and may contain some matter interesting on the present occasion.

10. Of the prohibition of all commercial intercourse I can only say that the orders of His Lordship shall be explicitly made known to the several Chiefs whenever I receive the instructions of Mr. Metcalfe to that effect; but my opinion of them does not warrant me to pledge myself for an adherence to any orders which may, in the slightest degree, militate against their own interests, and my experience is against it, as I adopted this measure partially during the dispute respecting Moondlai, &c., and it was reported to me, and appeared by the Putteealah papers, that the very owners of the place seized by the Goorkhas supplied them with grain during the time the operations were carrying on against it in consequence of my letters.

Impending hostilities with the Gurkhas and probable co-operation of Hill Chiefs.

11. On a subject on which I do not possess full information, and on which enquiry at the present moment might lead to suspicion, I can only venture to express my individual belief that the Proclamation might be delayed without prejudice till towards the end of September, as I very much suspect that very little, if any, commercial intercourse exists between the hills and the Protected districts during the rainy season. The swamps immediately under the hills, the numerous hill streams and different ravines, which intersect the whole country through which I passed in November last, lead me to think that all commerce must cease at this period, as the expense of carriage must so greatly enhance the value of all articles which are usually the object of barter; and I should suppose that ginger, turmerick and other of the cheapest drugs, with iron and perhaps some lead, which they exchange for grain, would not bear the great increase of expense which must be occasioned by transporting it in so unfavorable a season. If this supposition is correct, and should be found applicable to the countries situated to the eastward, the Proclamation need not be issued till a very short time before the military operations determined on are carried into effect.

12. The conquests of the Goorkhas in the north are recent, and their Government by no means popular. The Rajahs who have been expelled did not maintain any or only a very small number of troops, but depended for the defence of their country on the inhabitants themselves, and to this and to a want of concord amongst the Chiefs may be in a great measure attributed the success the Goorkhas have met with. At Nahan, the principal Government in the hills of this quarter, they were first called in by the Rajah himself to subdue an insurrection of his own people, and from thence made their way to the Sutledge more by the discord existing between the Chiefs than by force of arms, and every place of strength has fallen not by attack (for they have not guns of any calibre), but by famine, the consequence of blockade.

Occupation of the Dehra Dún by the Gurkhas.

13. I cannot venture a positive assertion, but I believe I have heard that the valley called Derah, which runs from the Jumna to the Ganges at the head of the Dooab, was either

wholly or in part occupied by the *thanas* of the Nawab Saadut Ali, or by Perron on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindia in 1803, when the battle of Dehli was fought, and might consequently have been annexed to the *zilla* of Seharunpoor as a cession and appendage of Mooradabad or Burraily, or as a consequence of the issue of that action; but our imperfect knowledge of the exact limits of the distant frontier, either ceded or conquered, gave them an opportunity of encroaching unnoticed on places which were at the period of their arrival held by stealth, either by the people employed by the former Government or by men who availing themselves of our want of information had assumed an authority.

14. Of the valley of Derah it is probable a full account can be obtained from the Collector of North Seharunpoor, as a circumstance so recent must be known to many now living, and particularly to the Brahmans of Hurdwar, and I only take the liberty of stating my belief on an imperfect recollection of what I have heard, as the fact being proved might have some effect on the military operations in this quarter.

15. It will be for His Lordship to determine whether any or what use should be made, or can be made, of the expatriated or reduced Rajahs in this quarter; but it seems to me likely that an assurance of aid from the British Government would produce very serious consequences in their newly acquired territory, and that holding out the restoration of the former authorities would induce a more cordial co-operation from the Protected Chiefs, as those immediately in the vicinity of the hills did not feel easy or assured of security till the late cession of Moondlai, etc., gave them greater confidence.

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172. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 194, dated the 16th of July 1814.*

Compensation to Chiefs for suspension of duties on timber.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, that, in obedience to the orders received in your letter of the 4th of February last, the collections on wood by the Surdars of the Protected

Compensation to Chiefs for suspension of duties on timber.

districts ceased on the 1st of this month, and they have received from me in compensation the sums stated in the accompanying statement amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 3,351-7-3.

2. Of the particular sums to individuals, I only believe those paid to Jodh Sing, Kulsia, and Bhunga Sing of Thanaisur are in excess to the actual collections of the last three years, and I did not think it would be deemed expedient to dispute what would only be a trifling difference, as the sharers in the ghauts, aware that whatever these Chiefs stated in excess would be so much gain on their several proportions, refused to give me that information which would have placed the matter beyond a doubt by mentioning their actual receipts on account of wood collections. It was probably true, as they stated, that their shares had been paid on the gross amount of all duties without specifically stating what amount was received from the transit of timber.

3. The total amount is considerably less than the maximum ordered by your letter, and every settlement has been made not on the average of three years, but admitting the largest sum collected in any one of that period, and in consequence has not afforded the least room for or occasioned a single murmur.

4. I found it necessary to comply with their wishes in making it optional to receive the amount half yearly either here or at Dehli, as some of them stated that they had not Vakeels at that Residency and expressed a wish to have the amount paid at the office from which the *sunnuds* were granted, in reality implying their doubts whether the *sunnuds* would entitle them to receive the amount at that treasury. As it would only increase my drafts at the stated period on the Resident of Dehli, I did not suppose it would be considered as essential whether paid by myself or on a *sunnud* granted by me.

5. In a matter on which there can be the least doubt I shall not feel perfectly at ease till the arrangement has received the sanction and approbation of His Lordship, and

can only say at present that I was desirous to meet the wishes of the Chiefs concerned.

6. In replying to your letter of the 23rd ultimo I feel some difficulty; but, as Mr. Dickson has not the least idea that I have thought it necessary to mention his trouble, or his services, to His Lordship, and can have no expectation of the slightest remuneration, I should hope he would think a thousand rupees a very liberal recompense. It is only necessary for me to state that he attended the youth daily for near five months, and part of the time, when he first arrived, the dangerous state of his health rendered it necessary to visit him morning and evening.

Remuneration to Mr. Dickson.

Enclosure to 172.

Statement of the yearly sums to be paid to the Surdars to whom the Sunnuds have been granted.

Compensation for suspension of timber duties.

Names of Proprietors.	Names of Ghauts.	Yearly revenue.
		Rs. A. P.
Surdar Jodh Singh, Kulsia .	Kundae, Khizerabad and Ryan.	602 11 6
Maigh Singh	Futtehgurh . . .	300 0 0
Jymul Singh and Goolab Singh.	Raujghaut and Mundowley	325 0 0
Chund Koonwer, widow of the late Ummer Singh.	Oodrie	117 0 0
Ranee Daya Koonwer, widow of late Bhugwan Singh.	Alapra, Kullawer, Kummalpoor, Dubka, Nakoom and Nuqla.	360 0 0
Surdar Doolcha Singh . .	Goomthulla . . .	120 0 0
Ranee Ram Koonwer, widow of the late Bhugail Singh.	Gurhpore	65 0 0
Jeet Singh of Ladwa . .	Chunderawon . . .	135 0 0
Goolaub Singh of Thanaisur .	Dubkowley . . .	117 0 0
Bhunga Singh of Thanaisur .	Chowgowan, Rindowly, Secunderpoor and Chowra.	490 0 0
Nawab Rehmut Khan . .	Nusirpoor . . .	443 1 6
Golaum Mohiudin Khan .	Ringee or Bungee . .	216 10 3
Rajah Bhaug Singh and Bhai Lall Singh.	Bursut	60 0 0
	Total Sonat Rupees .	3,351 7 3

D. OCHTERLONY,

Agent, Governor-General.

173. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 3rd of August 1814.*

Impending military operations against the Gurkhas. Instructions to Colonel Ochterlony.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 9th ultimo,[1] enclosing an *urzee* from Ummer Sing Thappa to the address of the Governor-General and a letter from that Chief to your address, and your reply with English translations of those documents, and communicating your observations and suggestions relative to eventual military operations in the Nipaulese territories west of the Ganges.

2. The Governor-General entirely approves your having received and transmitted Ummer Sing Thappa's *urzee.* The tenor of your answer is also entirely approved. No reply on the part of the Governor-General to Ummer Sing Thappa is considered to be necessary. His *urzee* is of course dictated by the Court of Catmandoo. It contains the same sophistical arguments with which that Court has already attempted to justify its usurpations and the same inadmissible and already rejected offers of a compromise by holding the disputed lands in Bootwul in farm. To enter on a discussion of the question again with Ummer Sing Thappa would be to revive a subject already exhausted. But in any view of the case the Governor-General would not consider it to be proper to render Ummer Sing Thappa the channel of a negotiation, which has hitherto been conducted either by direct correspondence between the two Governments or by the Agents of each Government regularly constituted for the purpose.

3. The information and suggestions contained in your letter with reference to military operations and political arrangements in the hills will be very useful to Government. It would be satisfactory to His Excellency the Governor-General to obtain more detailed information on the points to which you have adverted generally, and on the military force under Ummer Sing Thappa, its strength and disposition and the description of troops of which it is composed, its means of uniting and acting in a body, and other points of

[1] 171 *supra.*

this nature which will readily suggest themselves to your experience. Detailed information relative to the passes into the hills, the roads, bridges, rivers and streams, with all the particulars requisite for military purposes, is very much desired.

Impending military operations against the Gurkhas. Instructions to Colonel Ochterlony.

4. It would likewise be satisfactory to the Governor-General to receive accurate information relative to the political divisions of the country, the number and names of the ancient principalities, the names and present situation of the Chiefs expelled by the Goorkhas, and the best means of rendering their aid useful in the prosecution of the measures which it will probably be necessary for Government to adopt for the overthrow of the Goorkha power. The restoration of the ancient Hill Chiefs will probably be a part of that system of measures, and at a proper time you will be authorised to signify this intention to them, and call on them to exert themselves in recovering their ancient possessions. In the meanwhile all the information which can be obtained relative to those Chiefs and the countries to which they have a claim, and the most advisable mode of proceeding in carrying their restoration into effect, will be useful to the Governor-General, who requests that you will give your early attention to the subject and report on it without delay.

5. The services of Kishen Sing, the person mentioned in the 7th paragraph of your dispatch, may no doubt be rendered useful. You will accordingly keep him in view without making any premature communication to him.

6. I am directed to add that your services and that of the greater part of the force under your command will be called for in executing the measures above adverted to. On this point, however, as well as all others connected with the subject, you will hereafter receive detailed instructions.

7. I am directed to observe, with reference to your remarks that the outrage in Bootwul was probably committed under the orders of Ummer Sing Thappa, the Goorkha Commander in the western possessions of the Nipaulese, that

there are two Chiefs of that name, and that the Commander in Palpah and other districts in that quarter, who was the author of the encroachments in Bootwul and probably of the late outrages there, is a different person from him who commands to the westward. The Palpah Commander is the father of Bheem Sein, the principal minister of the Raja of Nipaul, and by that means possesses considerable influence at Court, which has been employed to obtain support to his iniquitous proceedings towards the British Government.

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174. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated the 11th of August 1814.*

Compensation to Sikh Chiefs for suspension of timber duties.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 16th ultimo,[1] detailing the measures which you have adopted in carrying into effect the orders of Government contained in my letter of the 4th of February last.

2. I am directed to inform you that your proceedings in fixing the amount and mode of payment to be made to the Surdars of the Protected districts in compensation for the duties formerly collected by them on timber are very much approved by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Remuneration to Mr. Dickson.

3. I am also directed to signify to you that His Lordship concurs in the suggestion contained in the last paragraph of your letter, and is pleased to authorize you to pay to Mr. Dickson the sum of one thousand rupees as a remuneration for his attendance on the son of Ummer Sing Thappa.

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175. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 195, dated the 13th of August 1814.*

Defeat of Ranjit Singh's force in Kashmír.

I HAVE this instant received intelligence that Runjeet's army, which had advanced beyond the Peer Punjal, had been encountered and defeated with very considerable loss

[1] 172 *supra*.

by the Nazim's troops. Runjeet had in consequence ordered their retreat, which was conducted so irregularly and in such disorder as to become a disgraceful flight which all his own personal exertions could not prevent, and at the date of the letter (29th July) the Kashmerean army and Rohulla Khan, the Poonch Rajah, were pursuing.

Defeat of Ranjit Singh's force in Kashmír.

2. It is probable this, with the distresses experienced, will induce Runjeet to abandon his enterprize, and if he succeeds in effecting a decent retreat, I am inclined to think he will owe it in some degree to his regular battalions, but more to the mismanagement of the enemy opposed to him.

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176. *From Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department,—No. 198, dated the 29th of August 1814.*

In obedience to the commands contained in your letter of the 3rd instant, I have the honor to transmit a map[1] and report of the hilly districts between the Jumna and Sutledge.

Report on Hill Districts between the Jumna and Sutlej.

2. That both are very imperfect I most sincerely regret, but it would be impertinent to offer any apologies for the transmission of that which, with all its imperfections, is the best I could procure. I am, however, very well aware that the information obtained might in abler hands have assumed a very different shape, and been more approved as a composition, but I have thought it of much more consequence to forward it early for the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General than even to attempt to give it the little correction which in that respect my own abilities might have afforded and my inclinations suggested.

3 For some opinions and sentiments which I have ventured to obtrude on His Lordship's notice I feel it necessary to solicit pardon. They are not meant to apply to the

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

grand principles of policy, or to have reference to the adoption of such measures as may be thought necessary to vindicate the national honor, but in a manner extorted from me by the recent events at Jeendh, and to deprecate the extension of an expensive and harrassing protection to ingrates who, if relieved from their present oppressors or restored to their ancient possessions, will, by their own petty and internal disputes, in all probability furnish an endless source of trouble and vexation to the Government which has exerted itself for their deliverance.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony in regard to the impending operations against the Gurkhas.

4. If the Court of Naipaul could be brought to see the impolicy of a contest with the British power, and relinquish such points and places as are so situate as to invite disputes, it would seem easy to throw a boundary line of petty States which should be independent of both Governments and prevent all future collision. In this quarter at least it is demonstratively practicable by the Punjore valley remaining as it is now understood to be limited by the proprietors of the soil. To the eastward, the Kaardah valley might be made a separate and distinct division and allotted as a provision to the family of the exiled Rajah of Nahan, and the valley of Derah, between the Ganges and Jumna, might in like manner be given to the heirs (if there are any) of the late Prince of Serinagur.

5. Whatever may be my impressions of the difficulties to be encountered from the accounts I have received or from the better attested narrative of Captain Raper in the Asiatic Researches, I trust it will not be thought that I despair of effecting what the Goorkhas have achieved; but where the most successful result, so far from holding out an expectation of remuneration, promises only an increase of expense, trouble and vexation, in perpetually arbitrating jarring and discordant interests, I hope I shall not give offence by saying that, in what respects this part of the country, it appears more advisable to relinquish the idea of general restitution, and, if we do attack, it should be avowedly in the first instance to conquer for ourselves, though we should

subsequently form it into one distinct Government as formerly existed between the Jumna and Ganges, from which the valley of Derah might be annexed to the Company's possessions on the east side, as the useful valley of Kaardah might on the west side of the Jumna. If they do not, and it is not expected they can, give any effectual aid in the conquest, they have not a right to expect the fruits; but if the restoration of the ancient authorities should be considered by His Lordship as more consonant to policy, justice and humanity, it would still rescue the British Government from never ceasing trouble by declaring one the paramount State or general umpire to whom all appeals should in the first instance be made, and whose decisions should be subject only to the reference of the Resident of Dehli as the representative of, or to the Supreme Government itself.

Views of Colonel Ochterlony in regard to the impending operations against the Gurkhas.

P. S.—Captain Webb, as Superintendent of Buildings, having been necessarily entrusted with the cause of withdrawing his workmen from the valley of Kaardah, I considered it advisable to avail myself of his professional knowledge, and beg leave to transmit his letter just received for the information of His Lordship.[1]

ENCLOSURE 1 TO 176.

Report on the Hill Districts occupied by the Goorkhas.

To confess that the accompanying map is entirely constructed from native information is at once to disclaim all pretention to geographical precision or accuracy; but, in addition to the usual difficulty of fixing the position of places from the vague and indeterminate assertions of men who have not the least knowledge of the compass and describe only by the four cardinal points, great embarrassment and perplexity have been caused by the mountainous face of the country, which rendered it impossible to ascertain with any hope of correctness the real distance of any one place from another. In such a country the horizontal distance

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[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

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will be concluded to differ essentially from that passed by the traveller, and it would have been most desirable to have been enabled to fix on one which seemed to approach nearest to truth.

2. With this view, and in this hope, British miles have been substituted for the *coss* of the country, and may possibly be found generally correct, though not applicable to particular places where it is said that a day's journey or twelve *coss* is hardly sufficient to descend one hill and ascend another which are scarcely an arrow's flight asunder. If it serves to give an idea of the general face of the country and the relative position of the forts, divisions and governments to each other, the most sanguine expectations which have been formed in its construction will be fully answered. It is offered with diffidence, and under a conviction that, if subsequent events admit of a regular survey, it will be found very erroneous; but it is the best that the means of information, the most diligent enquiry, and the most minute investigation of very inadequate materials could present.

3. Any attempt at an historical retrospect of the progressive conquests of the Goorkhas to the north-west would be unconnected with the object of this slight and humble effort, if it were not far above the ability and foreign to the pursuits of the writer.

4. When Captain Kirkpatrick visited Naipaul in 1793, the Goorkhas had reached, but not as they then asserted subdued, the Gurhwal or Serinagur country between the Ganges and Jumna. The final subjugation of those districts can only be dated from the death of the Rajah who was killed in an action with the Goorkhas in the valley of Derah in the year 1803. Antecedent, however, to this event, the weakness, tyranny and mismanagement of Kurrumpurkaush had excited the general hatred of his subjects and the discontent of his more immediate dependants, and revolutions unnecessary to detail had induced him to solicit the aid of the Goorkha forces to establish his own authority. This

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requisition was partially complied with, and a few hundred men under Bhugty Sing Thappa were sent to his assistance, but being surrounded by the troops collected by Kishen Sing and his own ministers, assisted by Ram Sing, the Hindoor (now Pulasia) Rajah, and straitened for provisions, he entered into negotiations which terminated in his being allowed to recross the Jumna unmolested. Rajah Kurrumpurkaush then fled to some of his possessions in the low country and remained there till the Goorkhas had completely established themselves in the country between the Jumna and Ganges, when he again sought their assistance and met their Commander at Kalsee, with whom he returned with a large army by Raujpoor, Kangra, etc., to his own capital of Nahun, having stipulated to let the Goorkhas pass unmolested through the country, and to furnish a quota of troops and supplies of provisions for the siege of "Kote" Kangra, a fort belonging to the Kutoach Rajah, west of the Sutledge.

5. The army sent to his assistance was again met near Ujmairgurh by the hill people of Nahun and Hindoor headed by Kishen Sing, but soon dispersed unable to cope with the superior discipline of the Goorkhas, who are said to have been *guided* and assisted by the peasantry of the Thakoor of Bughaut, from whom the Hindoor Rajah had recently wrested some of his principal places of defence, and consequently his territory.

6. It is sufficient for the purpose intended by this writing to state that the Goorkhas were only once encountered in the field on their second entrance into the Surmore country; but, though many of the forts held out long after the engagement at Ujmairgurh, and in general surrendered only from the failure of their supplies of provisions, and in some cases from their want of water, they are now in undisputed possession of the whole country from the Jumna to the Sutledge, and extending to the north, according to the information received, to the dependencies on the Empire of China, with the exception of Kunnowur, which the Rajah of Bissaher has been allowed to retain, either from their inability

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to subdue him in his fastnesses or from having already possession of all that was thought worthy of conquest.

7. On crossing the Jumna you enter the Surmoria country, of which Nahun was the capital or residence of the Rajah, and is bounded in its whole extent southerly by the Protected districts of the Sikhs; to the east to a very considerable extent as far as the village of Bhoonder by the Jumna; it then meets the *purgunna* of Rawahin, which accounts state to have formerly belonged to the Serinagur Rajah, extending easterly to the Tons and northerly to what is here universally called Bhuttunth and supposed to be a part of our Bootan.

8. On the west the Surmore territory is bounded by one or other of the *Barra Thakoorais* or 12 portions, and these are bounded on the south by Sikh districts, on the west by the Rauj of Hindoor, and extend northerly till they join the territory of Bissaher. West of the country possessed by Ram Sing now of Pulasia, and formerly styled the Hindoor Rajah, is the Kehloor country, of which Belauspoor is the capital, and, if the information obtained is correct, the Kehloor country does not extend all the way to Bissaher, but is bounded also by some of the *Barra Thakoorai*, some of which are said to be on or near the banks of the Sutledge and join the Bissaher limits in that quarter.

9. In describing these hilly countries geographically, or attempting to show their relative positions, it is impossible to speak with too much caution, and, though it is anxiously hoped the map may be of some use to give a general idea of these mountainous regions, it cannot be too often repeated that it must only be received as the best procurable, and not with any reliance on its accuracy. The political divisions of the country prior to its conquest by the Goorkhas may be accurately stated to be the Surmore, the *Barra Thakoorai*, the Hindoor and Kehloor, and on the back or upper part of these mountains the Bissaher territory, of which Rampoor on the bank of the Sutledge was the capital, extending

Report on the Hill Districts occupied by the Gurkhas.

eastward till it meets the district of Rawahin which, as above stated, formerly formed a part of the Serinagur Government. Commencing, then, on the east from the banks of the Jumna, the Surmore territory under the ancient Rajahs was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, the Hindoor at less than 30,000, and the Kehloor possessions on the east of the Sutledge at about 1,00,000. The following is the estimated value of the districts which go under the general name of the *Barra Thakoorai*, or twelve portions :—

	Rs.
Keonthul	15,000
Mulogh	7,000
Bughaut	14,000
Bawghul	7,000
Kothaur or Kotaher	4,000
Konyar	500
Dhamee	1,300
Bhujee	7,000
Kotee	1,500
Koomharsain	7,000

Besides these, lying north of Nahun, but said to have been dependencies on the Surmore, are three *Thakoorais* or portions, Joobul, Bulsun and Soorahun, 15,000 rupees, every one of which must at some period have been distinct from that Rauj or they would not have been so distinguished.

10. Future events may elucidate facts which interest suppresses or endeavors to conceal; and if the restitution of the ancient Thakoors to their respective districts should be determined on, there can be no doubt that claimants will arise, and that every claimant will possess a certain degree of influence.

11. It is curious to observe that in the very midst of these hills, surrounded by Raujpoot Princes, a small Mussulman sovereignty was created of about 5,000 rupees. The

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fort of Moorni and two others now destroyed by the Goorkhas were built by a Syed whose descendants were only driven from thence about 40 years since, and now actually occupy a fort called Kotaha, which the present possessor, Meer Jaffer, has contrived to maintain against all the efforts of the Sikhs, and whose little castle appears close to Ramgurh (Roypoor) under the hills in the map, particularly marked in red characters.

12. Of the actual extent and value of the Bissaher Rauj no accurate information has yet been obtained, but it is represented as large, and of far greater value than the whole of the lower countries of Surmore, Hindoor and Kehloor. It is said also to abound in grain, and the Goorkhas are asserted to derive considerable resources from that country, which enable them to maintain their force in these comparatively poor districts. It has been fruitlessly endeavoured to ascertain whence these resources proceed, and how a country which certainly lies further north and is by them declared not to be a valley should be so much more productive than the lower range; but every attempt to gain precise information has failed, and we are left to conjecture that, although Bissaher may be relatively high compared with the Protected districts, it is situate between two ranges of hills at some considerable distance from each other. This conjecture, though mere conjecture, wears an appearance of probability from its being allowed that from a certain point (Koteguri) it is a descent of some *coss* to Rampoor, the capital, and by the circumstance which is most positively asserted, though acknowledged not to have been seen, that the Tons issues as a small stream from the Sutledge above Surhaun, 20 *coss* (some say 40) from Rampoor, and proceeds through Chohara increased by various *nullas* till it becomes a large unfordable river passing by Hunowry to Kalsee, a little below which point it falls into the Jumna.

13. Of the roads and passes through and on this extensive range of mountains, the information obtained from a great variety of different sources has only agreed in one

particular, *viz.*, that they are in many places impassable for any four-footed animal but the *goonth* or hill horse, and from them the traveller is often obliged to dismount, and that every description of burden is carried only by men. Guns of small calibre were used by the hill Thakoors in their own petty warfares. The Goorkhas brought and now possess guns (from description about 3-pounders), but their transportation from place to place is always by men,—sometimes in broad paths slung on bamboos or wood and carried as a palanquin, but most frequently dragged by main force along the ground with ropes, their carriages being always carried piecemeal by different hands. It should be observed that these accounts were not received from people interested to deceive by exaggerated difficulties, but from persons who, if they supposed there was any object but mere curiosity, were more likely to have lessened than increased the obstacles to be encountered; yet that they unintentionally misrepresent is obvious from the simple fact that an elephant was sent as a present from Nahun to Bissaher. This circumstance, mentioned at the same moment with a description of difficulties, led to enquiry, and the route of the elephant was actually traced to the distance of 40 *coss*, and further information promised from one who had been an attendant in the marriage ceremony of which this elephant made a part of the dowry. Trivial as the relation of this circumstance may appear on such an occasion, it is mentioned as important, first, as deciding the fact that an elephant may and actually has proceeded over these hills, which are described as *inaccessible* to any quadruped; and secondly, as shewing the ignorance and want of common reflection with which you have to contend in seeking any information from a native which is not immediately connected with his own profession or pursuit.

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14. It is, however, far from the intention of this casual observation to impress an idea that the passage over or along the hills is an easy operation, but to shew that there is reason to believe that labor, zeal and perseverance may effect what is generally considered extremely arduous, if not impossible.

Report on the Hill Districts occupied by the Gurkhas.

15. The whole extent of hill country marked by the map as between the Jumna and Sutledge has already been stated to be now completely occupied by the Goorkhas, and from most of the districts the former Rajahs, Chiefs or Thakoors, have been driven to a dependent subsistence on some of the low-country Chiefs. The whole force kept up to preserve their conquests west of the Jumna is stated to amount to 7,000 men, about 4,500 or 5,000 of which are supposed to be what are termed regular troops or soldiers armed with muskets and clothed in imitation of our sepahies in red cloth uniform. These five thousand men are divided into companies, which are fixed either in different strong positions in the hills or garrison the forts of the country, as will be seen in A.

16. It has been the policy of the Goorkhas to raze and level a number of the forts they found on their arrival as being in some degree useless. Now that the whole country is under one Government, and probably because they would require a larger body of troops than they could afford to maintain, they have retained and garrisoned some few in the upper country, probably in the districts they found most refractory; but it is to the south or front range towards the Sikh country that they seem to have directed their particular attention. None on that side have been dismantled; all are kept in good repair; and some have been improved and strengthened. Of these, however, none are what we should consider strong as fortifications farther than they are made so by their elevated site and consequent difficulty of approach.

17. It may be concluded that these natural difficulties would be increased by art to the utmost extent of their knowledge of defence, but it is believed that to most a battering train could be got up, and that none of them could long resist a British detachment with howitzers and even field artillery, particularly if well supplied with shrapnell shells, which it is imagined would be of the greatest service in

a warfare of this nature, and should be most abundantly furnished.

Suggestions of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the impending operations against the Gurkhas.

18. On the first intimation of hostilities it may be believed that the troops now scattered in all quarters will be assembled at one or more central points to act as circumstances require and oppose to the utmost the very first entrance of an invading force by whatever ghaut or pass the attempt is made. From every information yet obtained it does not appear that the passes are so near as to afford any hope of deceiving them by a feint. It is supposed that the point of attack must be known, and it may be presumed will be obstinately defended, and, on the supposition that no route can be taken which will not at once indicate the quarter to be assailed, it is submitted with great diffidence that to commence by the reduction of Nalagurh might prove advantageous as being the key of the best and most practicable pass of the whole range (Nahun by the Kaardah valley not excepted). This pass is described as less rocky, and, if the accounts given of it can be at all depended on, would require less labour than any other, certain information having been obtained that Ram Sing (of Pulasia) previously to the Goorkha invasion conveyed a gun of considerable calibre—about a 4-pounder—from that place to Ujmairgurh, not by slinging, but dragging it up by men on its carriage, which seems to have resembled a truck with low broad wheels.

19. The bed of the river Ghumber, which they say runs within six *coss* of the residence of Ummer Sing Thappa (Urkee), holds out a fair expectation that it might be made a road for guns. Light infantry and troops employed as light infantry must of course be thrown out to protect them against the fire of the enemy, which will otherwise doubtless annoy their advance from the banks. These are subordinate arrangements dependent on the officer in command, and are only mentioned here to obviate the objections which would naturally occur to the march of troops in the beds of rivers against a skilful and enterprizing enemy. Giving the Goorkhas full credit for the reputation they have acquired, an

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officer must make up his mind to contend with a hardy and brave people, by no means uninformed in the arts and stratagems of mountainous warfare, and, giving them this credit, it may be concluded that either at the entrance of the Nalagurh Pass, or in some *chosen* strong position on the way to Urkee, he will make his first and principal stand with every man he can collect, and with every defensive art of stockade, &c., which they have in use. The information of the moment must determine whether this position can be turned, and the general mode of attack; but, on this first essay and the result will in all probability depend, not only the future conduct of the Goorkha troops, but that of all the peasantry of the hills from the southern boundary of the Protected districts to the northern extremity of the Goorkha conquests.

20. It will not be till some decided success has been obtained that the universal discontent and hatred of the Goorkha Government will be manifest, and till then we must depend for information and for guides solely on Ram Sing of Pulasia, whose restoration being promised will undoubtedly secure to us every aid that can facilitate our progress. On the local knowledge of some of the exiled Thakoors we may place some little, and but little, confidence, but no other assistance can be hoped from men who now literally subsist on charity.

21. The Goorkha Government is considered so firmly established that they would not scruple to withdraw their troops from the different stations and assemble them at any one point which they thought most likely to be assailed, and they would do this with less reluctance, having completely disarmed the inhabitants, who are not suffered to carry or even possess any warlike weapon.

22. A discretional power respecting expenditure through the commissariat or other staff would enable the officer in command to procure or secure great numbers of country men as *beldars* or pioneers, and with their assistance and

great labor it certainly does seem practicable to take the usual field train, with any detachment that may be sent, and it is imagined howitzers would be very useful and still more easily conveyed. This opinion, however, is formed on a knowledge of what has been effected, and not from any enquiry, as it is universally supposed next to impossible even by those who relate what has been done in former times, and when these are stated as reasons for supposing it may be done again it is replied that they were unopposed and had leisure to improve the different passes, which the Goorkhas have constantly endeavoured to render more impracticable.

Suggestions of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the impending operations against the Gurkhas.

23. The writer of this inadequate, but well intended, report is well aware of his own deficiencies and inability to form a correct judgment even on the information he has obtained, and still more to offer any opinion on the measures to be adopted should it be determined to attack the Goorkha possessions; but the importance of the subject seems to demand that he should incur every risk of censure and every imputation of imbecility, and his sentiments are submitted with unaffected diffidence and sincere reluctance, at the same time with an earnest hope that the national honor and dignity may not force us to engage in a contest which, in this quarter, does not hold out the slightest remuneration for very considerable and unavoidable expense.

24. Should the obstinacy or misguided counsels of the Court of Naipaul compel us to make a diversion in their north-western conquests, which would employ part of their force that would otherwise be engaged in the defence of their own immediate territory and capital, it may be thought advisable that the Loodeana Detachment should be reinforced by a certain number of companies or corps from Kurnaul or Seharunpoor, and in one body march to the reduction of Nalagurh and proceed to Urkee accompanied by the two 18-pounders and a portion of the cavalry, which might skirt the foot of the hills and be brought up, though with difficulty, to any one of the forts on the southern boundary

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or face next to the Sikh districts; or, if it appeared more advisable, the Loodeana Detachment might only be increased so as to admit of a force being left for the protection of the lines, and the Kurnaul Detachment joined by companies from Seharunpoor might proceed separately with howitzers and two 18-pounders to the attack of Nahun and the eastern districts constituting the ancient Surmore territory along the Kaardah Valley, or up the Telokepoor Pass.

25. The Sikh Chiefs might be called upon, or some of those known to be most attached, to furnish a small body of *burkundawzes*, of which irregular force they have all some few in their pay, though their strength is in cavalry. As the Hindoor Rajah has been protected in Pulasia and his restoration is supposed, he might be called upon for two or three hundred armed, and for a greater number of unarmed, men to assist in clearing the roads and carrying burdens.

26. The commissariat should be early called upon to procure all the mules, asses and tattoos that can be purchased or hired to carry the requisite supplies on the hills, which might be lodged in Pulasia, Munny Majra and Meer Jaffer's Fort of Kotaha, either by purchases on the spot or conveyed by the Government camels. As the hill forts surrendered, these lower depôts might be changed to such as fall into our hands. It is very much doubted whether the restoration of so weak and wicked a character as Rajah Kurrumpurkaush being the avowed object would not prove rather inimical than beneficial to the views of the British Government, if merely limited to the expulsion of the Goorkhas, and it is humbly suggested that it might be the declared purpose to place his infant son Futteh Sing, a minor of about 11 years of age, on the *guddy*. It is, however, here but justice to declare that, though the imbecility and tyranny of Kurrumpurkaush are notorious, much of the information has been obtained from his relation Kishen Sing and others of his people, who were decidedly hostile, and who in fact first caused him to seek the assistance of the Goorkhas, and has been a subject

of conversation at various times when a rupture with the Goorkhas or any interference in these districts was not in contemplation.

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27. When time admits of a full disclosure and not till then can it be ascertained with any accuracy how far the services of Kishen Sing may be safely employed for the benefit of his old enemy; but, as that enmity has been equally the ruin of both, it may be supposed that he would labor zealously to effect the Rajah's restoration if blended with an assurance of his own jageer. If this supposition, grounded on the great spring of human action—self-interest—be correct, there is every reason to believe that Kishen Sing, supplied with money to purchase arms and pay his men, could raise and command the cordial services of at least a thousand of his countrymen, and even four thousand has been asserted. How far Kishen Sing was warranted in what he said, or whether it was said only to induce attention and enquiry, cannot now be determined, but he was heard to assert before the Goorkhas gained possession of Bissaher that if he had money to raise 10,000 men he would drive them across the Jumna.

28. It has been the object in this report to relate the most minute facts rather than suppress a single circumstance which could assist others to form their own opinions without placing the least reliance on the judgment of the writer, and it is on this detail that he depends chiefly to authenticate what he has related and to correct the sentiments he has hazarded, which may be summed up briefly in expressing his belief that in the event of hostilities with the Goorkhas—

1st, some assistance may be expected from the Sikhs of irregular infantry;

2ndly, that the Hindoor Rajah ought to, and *would,* furnish five or six hundred men, armed or unarmed, who would be really useful as guides and to carry burdens;

Suggestions of Colonel Ochterlony in connection with the impending operations against the Gurkhas.

3rdly, that supplied with money Kishen Sing would be able to raise a considerable body of men before hostilities actually commenced, and that, on the first action terminating favorably to the British arms, his influence might command a great part of the population of the Surmore Rauj and be essentially useful;

4thly, that much may be hoped from the Rajahs and Thakoors who have been permitted to remain by the Goorkhas, and are universally, in common with the peasantry, disgusted by their oppressions, but from them nothing is to be expected till they are convinced that the issue of the contest will be unfavorable to their present rulers; and

Lastly, that, unless the Goorkha power is completely overthrown, or their boundaries so defined and limited that they cannot encroach without subjecting themselves to a second and immediate contest, the restoration of the Hill Rajahs and Thakoors will not be permanent, or, if permanent, can only be *maintained by the declared protection of the British* Government, the assumption of which will certainly produce a constant source of trouble, and probably entail a considerable expense.

29. The history of the conquest of the country between the Jumna and Sutledge from Kalsee to Rampoor in Bissaher exhibits a most singular want of energy, of courage, of common activity, and of every quality which are generally the characteristics of a highland people. Whatever, therefore, is said to be expected from them is under the impression that a formidable protector stepping forward in their favor will inspire different sentiments and excite a different conduct from what they have shown in the defence of their country against the late invaders, who seem to have created such a terror by their prior conquests that all opposition was considered hopeless.

ENCLOSURE (2) TO 176.

Disposition of forces in the Gurkha possessions.

A.—Disposition of the forces in the Goorkha possessions according to the latest information.

	Muskets.
In Nahun	1,600
„ Hindoor	300
„ Bissaher	500
„ Koomharsain . . .	200
„ Soobhatoo . . .	500
„ Teebhur . . .	150
„ Urkee with Ummer Sing Thappa . . .	2,000
Total .	5,250

and 36 small brass guns about two cubits in length, carrying 1½ *poah* (bazar weight) balls.

ENCLOSURE (3) TO 176.

Revenue of Gurkha conquests.

B.—Supposed revenue of the Goorkha conquests between the Jumna and Sutledge rivers.

	Rs.
Surmore	1,00,000
Hindoor	40,000
Kehloor	1,00,000
Barra Thakoorai or 12 portions	66,500
Dependent Thakoorais on Surmore . . .	15,000
Bissaher or that part of the country recently conquered	60,000
Total .	3,81,500

List of Chiefs and their positions under the Gurkhas.

ENCLOSURE (4) TO 176.

C.—List of Rajahs and Thakoors who are retained or expelled by the Goorkhas.

Sireenugur . .	Soodursun Sah	Exiled.
Surmore . .	Kurrumperkaush	Do.
Hindoor . .	Ram Singh	Exiled at Pullasia.
Kehloor . .	Maha Chund	In full possession in lieu of service.
Keonthal . .	Rugoonath	Exiled.
Mehlogh . .	...	Allowed a jageer.
Bughaut . .	Mehinder Singh	Tributary, and in full possession.
Bawghul . .	Juggut Singh	Exiled.
Kothaur . .	Gopaul Singh	Do.
Konyar . .	...	Allowed a jageer.
Dhamee . .	...	Unknown.
Bhujee . .	...	Tributary, in full possession.
Kotee in Keonthal	Puddum Chund	Tributary, in full possession.
Koomharsain .	...	Allowed a jageer.
Beejha in Bughaut	...	Remain in lieu of dawk expenses.
Gurhjurry . .	..	Exiled.
Joobul . .	...	In full possession.
Bulsen . .	Jogla	Exiled.

D. OCHTERLONY,

Agent, Governor-General.

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177. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp on the Ganges near Currah, the 30th September 1814.*

Operations against the Gurkhas. Treatment of the exiled Hill Chiefs.

IN my letter of the 3rd ultimo you were apprized in general terms of the state of affairs between the British Government and that of Nipaul, and of the measures contemplated by the Governor-General of restoring to their hereditary possessions the exiled Chiefs of those territories which have lately been reduced by the Goorkha arms. Although the information required by that letter was necessary to enable the Governor-General to form a definitive judgment

on several points relating to the proposed measure and to the general course of proceeding to be pursued towards the actual Government of Nipaul, yet adverting to the approach of the period when operations would commence, and when such measures as might be determined on for obtaining the aid and co-operation of the exiled Chiefs required to be put in train, His Excellency thought it expedient no longer to delay, in expectation of the receipt of your report, the transmission of instructions to you on the subject founded on such information as was at the moment in His Lordship's possession and open to future correction or modification if necessary.

Operations against the Gurkhas. Treatment of the exiled Hill Chiefs.

2. Instructions had accordingly been prepared under His Lordship's authority, but before they could be dispatched your letter No. 198 of the 29th August [1] was received, and the whole question was again taken into consideration with reference to the information and suggestions contained in your report.

3. I now proceed to state to you in detail the result of His Lordship's deliberations, and to communicate his instructions for your guidance in the conduct of the political arrangements which it will be necessary to combine with the military operations already prescribed by the Orders of the Commander-in-Chief under date the 28th August.

4. I am first directed, however, to express to you the satisfaction with which the Governor-General has perused your report, and to signify to you His Lordship's entire approbation of the spirit in which it was drawn up and of the comprehensive details and suggestions which it contains.

5. The principal question which it presents for consideration is the expediency of restoring the exiled Hill Chiefs to their former possessions, and holding out to them and to their subjects that expectation with a view to stimulate their exertions in co-operating with us in the expulsion of the Goorkha forces from the territories forming their ancient principalities.

[1] 176 *supra*.

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6. As the general character of our political arrangements connected with the operations to be carried on by the division of the army under your command, must depend on the decision of this question in the affirmative or the negative, I have been desired to state to you in some detail the views and considerations which have influenced the Governor-General in the adoption of the opinion which he has formed on the subject.

7. In deliberating on this question the Governor-General has carefully considered the sentiments expressed by you relative to the embarrassment, inconvenience and expense resulting from the species of connection between the British Government and the Hill Chiefs which you apprehend to be a necessary consequence of their restoration under our protection and guarantee, especially from the necessity of arbitrating the differences which you foresee will be perpetually arising among them and calling for our authoritative interposition in their affairs.

8. The principal advantages contemplated in the establishment of such an order of things as would impose on the British Government the office of arbitration would be the preservation of tranquillity, so conducive to the success of any commercial objects which our improved intercourse with those mountainous districts might open to the enterprize of our merchants, and the security which would be afforded against the preponderance of any individual Chief, which might lead to the union of the different Chiefs under one head, or the extension of the power of an ambitious Prince by conquest or intrigue over the possessions of his neighbours to such a degree as to expose the British Government again to the insults and aggressions of a power so constituted and animated by such principles.

9. The inconvenience and embarrassment likely to result from undertaking the office of arbitrating all the differences arising among a number of petty and independent Chiefs was by no means absent from the view of the Governor-

General. His Lordship felt that the obligation to arbitrate, which necessarily implies that of enforcing our award, must in such cases always render the power which incurs it liable to be called on for the active exertion of its force and expose it to much inconvenience and unprofitable expense. But in contemplating the restoration of these Chiefs it did not appear to the Governor-General that any necessity would exist for burthening ourselves with this troublesome and thankless office, and it was never intended that the British Government should bind itself by any express or implied engagement to undertake it. Supposing the advantages of such a degree of paramount authority as is implied in the exercise of a general arbitration, with the faculty of enforcing the award, to be desirable, it appeared to His Lordship that we should, in the common course of events, have it at our command whenever we might see fit to exercise it. The natural effect of our exertions for the restoration of these Chiefs and of the political influence and ascendancy which our success will bring with it, will be to make them look to us for advice and assistance in their difficulties, which we shall be at liberty to afford or withhold at our option; and we shall thus, it may be presumed, without the inconvenience of positive obligation, possess all the essential advantages of a declared right of interference.

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10. It is not supposed that the direct assumption of such a power by us would be desired by the Chiefs in question: the presumption in this case lies the other way. Their restoration to their former power and possessions with a guarantee against the Goorkhas or any other foreign power would probably meet the full extent of their wishes with respect to our alliance. Supposing the occurrence of frequent appeals to our decision under circumstances suggesting the expediency of interference on our part, it still does not appear to the Governor-General that the evil will be of such extent as you seem to apprehend. The number of independent principalities lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge is not very considerable, nor is there reason to suppose, as far as the

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Governor-General knows, that their interests are of a peculiarly complicated nature. Even the actually existing number of independent Chiefs may be materially reduced if an arrangement can be made such as suggested by you for placing a portion of them (the whole of the *Barrah Thakooraee*, for instance) under one paramount Chief—an arrangement which you are authorized to endeavour to effect if you shall see reason to think that it will be practicable.

11. The objection to the restoration of the Hill Chiefs, founded on the embarrassment and inconvenience resulting from our interference in their internal dissensions, does not therefore appear to the Governor-General at all conclusive against the measure. But, whatever may be the abstract expediency or advantage of such an arrangement, it appears to His Lordship to be scarcely avoidable under the peculiar circumstances in which the British Government has been placed by the insolence and violence of the Goorkhas.

12. It is not necessary to recapitulate the events and transactions which have produced this state of affairs. Being placed in a situation, which compels the British Government to take up arms in support of its undoubted rights and in vindication of its honor, the question for consideration is how those just and legitimate objects of war are to be best accomplished.

13. The expulsion of the Goorkha forces from the country between the Jumna and the Sutledge became an indispensable part of the system, both of military operations and of political arrangements, while, with reference to the former, the nature of the country and the numerical strength of the force which can be brought to act in it renders the co-operation of the inhabitants in the expulsion of the enemy and the occupation of the posts from which they may be driven an object of peculiar importance in a military point of view. It is accordingly in this view principally that the Governor-General has expected to derive advantage from holding out the restoration of the ancient Chiefs to whom their former subjects

are supposed to be attached, and whose re-establishment will evince the resolution of the British Government permanently to exclude the Goorkha power.

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14. From what the Governor-General can learn of the nature of the country to be the scene of your operations, it will be impossible for you to occupy, by detachments and parties from your force, the posts and strongholds from which you will expel the Goorkha troops, and the possession of which will be required for the support of your further operations, or which it may be impracticable to dismantle or destroy. In these cases the zealous and cordial aid of the inhabitants of the country, excited by the presence of their natural Chiefs, will be of essential advantage, and indeed apparently indispensable. It can, however, only be secured by the expectation on the part of the Chiefs of recovering their former power, and on that of the inhabitants of permanent emancipation from the tyranny of the Goorkhas.

15. But independently of the assistance in promoting the success of our military operations to be derived from the proposed measure, it is recommended by considerations of a nature more exclusively political. The expulsion of the Goorkha power from the country between the Sutledge and the Jumna being determined on as a necessary branch of the measures to be pursued against the Government of Nipaul, the mode of disposing of that country in the event of its occupation by our arms becomes a question for consideration. His Lordship does not contemplate any terms of peace, after hostilities shall have actually commenced, which will restore to the Goorkhas any portion of the possessions in question from which they may be driven by the events of the war. The annexation of the conquered country to the possessions of the Honorable Company (with eventually the exceptions which will be hereafter stated) appears to be entirely inexpedient in every point of view in which the Governor-General has been able to consider the question. No practicable and convenient mode of disposing of these territories then remains except their restoration to the Chiefs who formerly ruled

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over them, who still are supposed to possess the good-will of the people, whose attachment to the British Government may be more reasonably looked to than that of any other power by which they could be held, and whose means of injuring us, even supposing a different disposition, can never be formidable.

16. On these grounds, then, the restoration of the Hill Chiefs to their former authority and possessions, and the previous declaration to them and to their people of such an intention, combined with an invitation to them to exert themselves in co-operation with the British troops to drive out the Goorkhas, appears to His Lordship to be a measure highly expedient.

17. The attention to which your opinions and suggestions on this subject are entitled, and the support which they derive from your local knowledge, professional experience and acknowledged general ability and judgment, have induced His Lordship to direct me to state to you thus fully the grounds on which he has drawn a conclusion different from that deduced by you.

18. *Having stated the general principle which should, in the judgment of the Governor-General, form the basis of our* political measures and proceedings with relation to the country between the Jumna and the Sutledge occupied by the Goorkhas, I now proceed to state to you the points on which it is desirable that that principle should be modified and tempered in its actual application to circumstances. Although the general restoration of the Hill Chiefs has been stated and argued on, in the preceding paragraphs, as the measure proposed to be adopted, it would not only be considered by the Governor-General to be inexpedient with reference to our immediate interests, but altogether inconsistent with the character and honor of the British Government, to employ its power to restore a Chief of notorious profligacy or imbecility to his former possessions against the will of the majority of the inhabitants. In the case, for instance, of Kurrumperkaush, the exiled Chief of Sirmore, the Governor-General will fully

sanction and confirm any arrangement which your personal knowledge of that person and the other members of his family, and of the general sentiments of the people of the country, may induce you to adopt for excluding him personally from all concern in the government and establishing the next heir, or any more eligible person, in the government, under such subsidiary provisions for the administration as you may think expedient. A similar procedure must be adopted in all cases when the facts are such as to warrant and demand it. It is to be remembered that we are under no obligation to restore these Chiefs; that it is an act purely gratuitous on our part; and that the dictates of natural justice will be obeyed, without injury to the rights of any individual, by consulting the wishes of the people and the interests of the country in the selection of the person to hold the sovereignty which will become vacant by the expulsion of the Goorkhas. The exercise of this discretion will obviously be a very nice and delicate task, and could not without reluctance and diffidence be entrusted to a person on whose ability, discernment and integrity, the Governor-General could less confidently rely than on yours.

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19. After the foregoing statement it is nearly superfluous to inform you that your suggestion for encouraging Ram Sing, the former Rajah of Hindoor, to come forward with the assistance in troops and unarmed followers, which you have reason to think he can command, by a promise of the restoration of his former possessions, is entirely approved. Such arrangements also as you may make with Kishen Sing in order to secure his active and efficient co-operation will be approved and sanctioned by the British Government.

20. The eventual exception from the general restitution chiefly referred to in the 18th paragraph, although not coming within the immediate sphere of your duties, is yet so connected with them as to make it expedient to advert to it in this place. His Lordship is not sure whether it may not be expedient for the British Government to appropriate to itself Sirinagur, including the valley of Derah Doon, and the

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territory dependent on it, not so much with a view to revenue as for the security of commercial communications with the country where the shawl wool is produced. This object would require the possession by the British Government of a tract of territory quite close to the frontier of that country. His Lordship is not apprized of the local objections which may exist to the appropriation of such a territory, of the practicability of defending it, or of its aptitude to promote the object of trade, which has just been stated, nor whether to render it complete it may not require the addition of a portion of the contiguous territory of Keemaon. On these points His Lordship will be happy to receive such information as the attention which you have recently devoted to the subject may enable you to communicate. The question will in the meantime remain open for decision, and will not be affected by your proceedings relative to the territories west of the Jumna, and you will be particularly careful to avoid any measure which may restrain the latitude which it is desirable to preserve in this respect.

21. I have now stated nearly all that occurs to the Governor-General on the question of restoring the Hill Chiefs; but I am directed to observe that, while His Lordship's opinion is formed on general views, aided by a knowledge of the local particulars stated in your report now acknowledged and in other communications received from yourself as well as from other quarters, he is yet aware that much of the reasoning by which it is supported must be open to correction from the more precise information acquired on the spot, and that the progress of your operations will open to you still further and more accurate sources of intelligence. It has therefore been His Lordship's aim in this dispatch to convey to you a clear exposition of his own sentiments and a statement of certain general principles of policy, leaving to you at the same time an entire latitude of action in their practical application. While, therefore, you will fully bear in mind the objects, political and military, which appear to the Governor-General to recommend the measure in question, you will consider yourself entirely at liberty to shape it

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according to your own views of its actual expediency formed on the scene of action, or to set it aside altogether, if it shall appear to you that the objects in the Governor-General's contemplation can be equally well or better attained without any such declaration as that adverted to. The political and military considerations which suggest its adoption are quite distinct and independent of one another, and if an early disclosure of our views does not appear to you to be necessary or advisable in their relation to the operations of your force, the decision of the political question may be postponed with perfect convenience until the expulsion of the Goorkhas and the military occupation of the country by our troops shall have been effected. You will therefore, under any resolution respecting the main question, consider the time of making the declaration to be left to your own judgment. You will receive enclosed a Proclamation in the English, Persian and Hindoostanee languages addressed to the people of the hills to the west of the Jumna, which you will cause to be translated into the language of that country and circulate at such time as you may think proper, unless the course of measures which you may ultimately think fit to adopt, under the discretion with which you are vested in this respect, shall induce you to suppress it altogether.

22. It only remains to consider the terms on which the restoration of the Hill Chiefs is to be effected by the power of the British Government.

23. The important question of the degree of authority and control to be exercised by the British Government over their intercourse with each other is discussed in the 21st paragraph. The Governor-General entertains no views of territorial acquisition in the countries lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge, beyond the eventual occupation of such posts as you may judge to be necessary for the security of our frontier,—a point to which you will be pleased to give your attention and submit a report. An undisturbed intercourse and passage through those countries with a view to commercial objects, in the advantages of which the natives of the hills will participate, is all that is desired.

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24. The several Chiefs should be required to execute engagements binding themselves to allow to the subjects of the Company and to their goods and merchandize a free right of passage; to render military service to the British Government when required within the hills; to afford every aid, comfort and supply to the British troops during military operations; and in general terms to remain faithful and attached to the British Government.

25 The enclosed Proclamation declares them guaranteed against the Goorkha power and exempt from all tribute or other pecuniary demand whatever.

26. Referring to the 5th paragraph of your dispatch No. 193, dated the 9th July,[1] the Governor-General directs me to observe that it is unnecessary to state to you that no movement on the part of Rajah Sunsaur Chund directed to the recovery of such of his former possessions as are in the occupation of Rajah Runjeet Sing can be countenanced or approved by the British Government. His re-occupation of any part of his former possessions which may be now held by the Goorkhas will, however, be extremely desirable, and his general co-operation against the force of Ummer Sing Thappa should be encouraged by every practicable means. Mr. Metcalfe, who has an agent at Sunsaur Chund's Durbar, will receive instructions on this subject, and will be desired to refer the agent to you for particular orders respecting the time and direction of any movements of the Rajah's troops.

ENCLOSURE TO 177.

Proclamation to the Chiefs and Inhabitants of the Hills between the Sutledge and the Jumna.

Proclamation to Chiefs and inhabitants of the Hills between the Sutlej and Jumna.

THE British Government has long viewed with concern the misery and distress to which the inhabitants of the hills lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge have been reduced by the oppressive sway of the Goorkha power. While that power was at peace with the British Government and afforded no ground to doubt its disposition to maintain that relation,

[1] 171 *supra.*

the acknowledged obligations of public faith demanded a corresponding conduct on the part of the British Government, and obliged it to witness in silent regret the devastation and ruin occasioned by the extension of the Goorkha arms over those countries.

Proclamation to Chiefs and inhabitants of the Hills between the Sutlej and Jumna.

Having now been compelled by a series of unprovoked and unjustifiable encroachments and violence on the part of the Goorkha power to take up arms in defence of its rights and honor, the British Government eagerly seizes the favorable occasion of assisting the inhabitants of the hills in the expulsion of their oppressors, the recovery of their national independence, and the restoration of the families of their legitimate and ancient Chiefs. The inhabitants of the hills are accordingly invited and earnestly exhorted to co-operate with the British troops in the powerful exertions which the latter are prepared to make for enabling them to accomplish those laudable and patriotic objects. The Commander of the British Troops is authorized and directed by his Government to promise in its name a perpetual guarantee against the Goorkha power, and to assure the Chiefs and inhabitants of the hills of its scrupulous regard for all their ancient rights and privileges. The British Government demands no tribute or pecuniary indemnification whatever for its assistance and protection. All that it requires from the inhabitants of the hills in return for those benefits is their zealous and cordial co-operation during the continuance of hostilities against the Goorkhas, and their services hereafter if circumtances should again demand the employment of a British force in the hills against its enemies and their own.

Given at the Head Quarters of the British Force serving between the Jumna and the Sutledge this day of A. D. 1814 corresponding with the of

By order of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor-General.

[NOTE.—To be signed and sealed by Colonel Ochterlony.]

178. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp on the Ganges near Manickpore, the 1st October 1814.*

Arrangements for the conduct of Political duties at Ludhiána on the departure of Colonel Ochterlony.

THE Governor-General having had under his consideration the means of providing for the conduct of the political duties now performed by you during your absence from the Sikh territories on the service to which my dispatch of yesterday's date refers, I am now directed to communicate to you the resolutions and orders of His Lordship on that subject.

2. It appears to the Governor-General to be on the whole most expedient that your Assistant, Captain Birch, should remain at Lodhiana and conduct the details of the political duties of that station, subject, however, to instructions which he may receive from you and under your general superintendence and control. The knowledge which Captain Birch has acquired, during his employment as your Assistant, of the condition, interests and relations of the Chiefs with whom you are in communication, and of the sentiments and political views of Government with respect to them, points this arrangement out as preferable to any which would transfer the conduct of these duties to a person not possessing equal experience, while it secures to the utmost practicable extent the advantage of the continued exercise by you of those talents and qualities which have so eminently contributed to the success of the arrangement by which the Sikh Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutledge were placed under the immediate protection and guarantee of the British Government.

3. You will accordingly be pleased to notify this arrangement to Captain Birch and to furnish him with instructions for his guidance, directing him to communicate his proceedings to you and to conform to such directions as you may deem it necessary, from time to time, to issue to him. Captain Birch should correspond directly with me for the information of the Governor-General, transmitting his dispatches through the Resident at Dehli and forwarding copies to Fort William.

4. Previously to your departure from Lodhiana it will be proper for you to communicate to Rajah Runjeet Sing in general terms the object of your march, and to convey to him such assurances as may be necessary to satisfy his mind that the intended measures of the British Government are entirely unconnected with anything that can affect his interests. The precise views with which the movement of Sunsar Chund's force is contemplated by us should also be distinctly brought under his notice.

Further instructions to Colonel Ochterlony.

5. The Governor-General entertains no suspicion that Runjeet Sing will take advantage of the absence of your force from Lodhiana to molest the Sikh Chiefs under our protection or in any manner to infringe the stipulations of the existing treaty. Any attempt to favor or support the Goorkha force, more especially after a successful commencement of your operations, is altogether improbable, and it is presumable that any disposition of this sort would be speedily dispelled by a communication to the Rajah of the tenor of your conference with Bhugty Sing Thappa, reported in your dispatch No. 187, dated 20th December 1813,[1] and of the report of your *hircarrah* of that part of Ummer Sing's discourse which relates to Runjeet Sing, communicated in your dispatch No. 200 of the 15th ultimo.[2]

6. A notification to the Sikh Chiefs under our protection and an exhortation to them to be under no apprehension during the temporary absence of the greater part of your force will also be advisable.

7. You will of course call on them in the name of the Government for such aid as you may judge them capable of affording of a nature to be useful in the approaching service. Besides the Infantry which they may be able to furnish, it occurs to the Governor-General that their Cavalry may be serviceable in protecting the low lands from any incursions from the hills which may be undertaken or encouraged by

[1] 163 *supra*.

[2] Not printed.

the Goorkhas by way of diversion or for the purpose of plunder. On this subject the Governor-General deems that you will be governed by your own discretion.

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179. *From Captain G. Birch, Assistant Agent, Governor-General, Lodianah, to J. Adam, Esquire, and J. Monckton, Esquire, Secretaries to Government,—dated the 2nd of December 1814.*

Arrival of family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiána.

I HAVE the honor to communicate, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, that about five o'clock yesterday evening a message was brought me by an Afghan that Wuffa Begum and all the females of Shah Shooja-ul-Mulk's family had arrived from Lahore and taken refuge in the town of Lodianah, and that the King also meant to attempt his escape. However, it appears his intentions were discovered by an open note No. 1, which has since arrived directed to Colonel Ochterlony, copy of which I beg leave to enclose.[1] It is said to be written by the King's own hand. I also enclose a communication from the Lahore newswriter, No. 2, on this subject.[1]

On ascertaining that there was no deception in the Afghan's report of their being really the King's family, I thought it would allay the apprehensions they described themselves to be under, with regard to the reception they should meet with in coming without permission into the British dominions, to send them word they might rest assured of their personal security, and that I was sorry I had no better accommodation to offer them than a tent which I begged leave to prepare for them.

They expressed their gratitude for the kind reception, but begged to decline troubling me for anything; that the protection of the British Government was all they would ever ask or receive from them.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

180. *From Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodiana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Fort William,—No. 308, dated Camp Nehr, the 6th of December 1814.*

I HAVE the honor to transmit herewith a letter addressed to the Right Honorable the Governor-General from Ummer Sing Thappa.

Overtures of the Gurkha Commander for peace.

2. The contents of it are briefly stating that he has received orders from Naipaul to send a confidential person to negociate a peace, and requesting permission so to do if such proposals would be acceptable to His Lordship. His letter to me only requests that I will read, seal and transmit it, permission having arrived from Naipaul in consequence of my recommendation to send a person to Mr. Metcalfe, Resident of Dehli.

ENCLOSURE 1 TO 180.

Translation of the substance of a letter from UMMER SING THAPPA to Colonel OCHTERLONY.

STATES that he transmits to Colonel Ochterlony a letter to the address of the Governor-General, for the purpose of its being forwarded to His Lordship after perusal, and requests Colonel Ochterlony to obtain a favorable answer, observing that should it be His Lordship's pleasure to adjust all differences, and to restore friendship and harmony between the two States, nothing could be more desirable, but that otherwise, whatever the will of the Almighty may be will come to pass.

ENCLOSURE 2 TO 180.

Translation of the substance of the letter from UMMER SING THAPPA to the Governor-General, referred to in the foregoing.

STATES that firm friendship had subsisted between the two States, but that, for some time past, in consequence of misunderstandings between the officers of the two Governments, disputes respecting boundaries had arisen. Regrets this interruption of that friendship which was attended with

mutual advantages. States that Chunder Sekher Opadeea had been sent by the Rajah of Nepaul for the adjustment of depending points; that he (Ummer Sing) had also received a letter from the Rajah directing him to send a confidential person to the British Government: he therefore informs the Governor-General that if His Lordship is desirous that the existing differences regarding the boundary disputes shall be adjusted, he will send a confidential person with a letter to the Governor-General to negociate the adjustment of the pending differences to the boundary disputes; otherwise, if war in the hills be His Lordship's object the will of God will be done.

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181. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Colonel D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Moradabad, the 11th of December 1814.*

Orders of Government on the overtures of the Gurkha Commander.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 6th instant,[1] enclosing an original letter from Ummer Sing Thappa to the Governor-General and one to your address.

You will be pleased to state to Ummer Sing Thappa that the Governor-General has received his letter and considered the contents; that the questions now depending between the two States no longer refer to the original differences on the boundaries, but in consequence of the conduct of the Goorkha Government involve interests of the greatest magnitude; that the British Government, as it reluctantly entered into the war, is willing to renew the relations of amity on terms consistent with its interests, dignity and honor; that if Ummer Sing is authorized to depute an agent for the purpose of adjusting terms of peace, the agent will be received and the terms which he may propose listened to, and, if admissible, they will be duly discussed; that in this event, he will be pleased to direct the agent to proceed to Dehli, where the Resident will be prepared to receive the communications with which he may be charged.

[1] 180 *supra*.

You will of course not suffer Ummer Sing's deputation of an agent to interrupt the progress of your operations, and will decidedly reject any proposition of this nature which he may make to you.

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182. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Captain G. BIRCH, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Belawallah, 14th of December 1814.*

Arrival of family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiána.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant,[1] communicating the arrival at Lodhiana from Lahore of Wuffa Begum and all the females of the family of Shah Shuja-ool-Moolk.

2. I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to acquaint you that, though he regrets the occurrence reported in your letter, and cannot on any account encourage or countenance any views which may be entertained by the fugitives of the family of Shah Shuja directed towards any change in the situation of the Shah, His Lordship conceives that the British Government is withheld by motives of humanity from refusing them that protection under which they have thrown themselves.

3. It is not improbable that Rajah Runjeet Sing may apply to the Government for these ladies to be restored to him, a request which of course cannot be complied with. In the event of Runjeet Sing's addressing you for this purpose, the Governor-General desires that you will reply by assuring the Rajah that the British Government will never give its countenance or support to the family or dependants of Shah Shuja in any designs which may interfere with the views or wishes of Runjeet Sing, but that the withdrawing from them that protection under which they have placed themselves would be inconsistent with the duties of humanity and the character of the British nation, and as such can never be a fit object of solicitation.

[1] 179 *supra.*

183. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Captain G. Birch, Assistant Agent, Governor General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Najibabad, the 21st of December 1814.*

Proposed removal of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to Delhi.

A further consideration of the actual situation of the members of the family of Shah Shuja, who have taken refuge at Lodhiana, has suggested to the Governor-General the expediency of removing them from a position where they are in some measure exposed to danger from any desperate attempt which might be made from the opposite side of the Sutledge to seize them, and the proximity and exposed situation of which alone might tempt Runjeet Sing secretly to encourage such an attempt; and His Lordship has accordingly resolved to remove them to Dehli, where they will be in a state of security and comfort which Lodhiana will not afford. You will therefore be pleased to propose to them to proceed to Dehli, on the ground of their greater security and comfort, and will take the requisite measures for carrying the plan into effect. You will consider yourself authorized to afford them your aid in procuring carriage for their conveyance, and if it shall appear that they have not the means of supplying themselves, you are at liberty to afford them such pecuniary assistance as may be necessary, preserving every practicable attention to economy in your arrangements of this nature. You will be pleased also to furnish them with such a guard as may be requisite for their protection on the road.

2. You will announce to Mr. Metcalfe the period of their departure from Lodhiana and probable arrival at Dehli, and furnish him with all the information respecting them necessary to enable him to execute the orders of Government for their reception and accommodation.

3. If Rajah Runjeet Sing should make any representation to you regarding the removal of Shah Shuja's family from Lodhiana, you will be pleased to reply to the following effect. You will renew the assurances, which you have already been authorized to make to him, that the British Government will never countenance any proceeding of that family at all unsatisfactory to Runjeet Sing; that their removal to Dehli is

necessary for that comfort which the British Government cannot refuse to afford to helpless females who have thrown themselves on its protection; but that the leading motive for their removal thither is that it will prevent them from carrying on any intrigues for effecting the escape of Shah Shuja, or for any other purpose unacceptable to the Rajah, which could not be so effectually prevented if they continued to reside at Lodhiana.

Proposed removal of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to Delhi.

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184. *From Captain G. BIRCH, Assistant Agent, Governor-General, Lodianah, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—dated Lodianah, the 1st of January 1815.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, regarding the removal of Shah Shooja-ul-Mulk's family to Dehlee. I consequently sent a message to the Begum this evening that His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has proposed their proceeding to Dehlee as a situation of greater security and comfort, and that I had permission to furnish them with a guard and give every assistance in my power for their accommodation on the journey, and that they might be assured of Mr. Metcalfe treating them with every kind attention on their arrival.

2. The Begum begs me to reply that such consideration from the British Government gives her the greatest satisfaction, and particularly requests me to communicate her acknowledgments to His Excellency the Governor-General; but she begs to decline the offer of a residence in Dehlee for the following reasons:—first, that she has not the means nor, as the King her husband is situated, the inclination to meet the King of Dehlee on an equal footing; and secondly, that it is great consolation to her to be as near her husband as possible to enable her to carry on a quick correspondence with him.

3. I am therefore at a loss to argue against such reasoning, and I have not said anything further, concluding His Excellency the Governor-General would not wish it to be urged against her inclination.

Proposed removal of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to Delhi.

4. The apprehension of their being subject to any desperate attempt made me send for their headman a day or two after their arrival, and I explained to him how much they were exposed to molestation from any banditti who in expectation of a reward from Runjeet Sing might attack them; that I had on this consideration requested Colonel Knox to allow a hundred of Rajah Bhaug Sing's sepoys (who were on cantonment duty) to join the *thanna* guard in the town which was near the house they then occupied, and had given the Surdar commanding instructions to comply with any requisition he might make for guards and sentries, which I requested he would himself station about their dwelling to ensure their security, and observed to him there was no occasion to alarm the Begum by telling her all I had warned him against, but to say that I had offered them for protection against thieves.

5. But she desired him not to call any guard or place any sentry about her house, because it would be reported to Runjeet Sing that she was under restraint; so I desired sentries to be placed at the end of the streets leading to the house and the guard to be on the alert.

6. Soon afterwards I procured them a much more comfortable dwelling and from its construction more secure than the generality of houses, which they are much pleased with, and have furnished them with *cots*, cooking utensils, and other little necessaries which they could not procure, and which I thought it incumbent upon me to supply them with, as they came totally destitute of every comfort.

Treatment of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk by Ranjit Singh.

7. The Begum has lately sent to me several of the King's letters to her wherein he mentions the conduct of Runjeet Sing towards him and the messages he receives from him. He has lately taken away the sentries who were placed constantly in the same apartment with him, and they are now only round the dwelling; and he has also allowed him several little indulgences which were before denied him, and he sent him word he would release him entirely if he would make a promise not to go for refuge under the influence of the British

Government, and never to molest his possessions if he ever got into power. The King replied he would not make him any promises.

Treatment of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk by Ranjit Singh.

8. The Begum also sent me a letter from her brother, Futty Khan, and another near relation who at the time he wrote did not know she had left Lahore. He regrets extremely that Shah Shooja-ul-Mulk cannot get to him, as Mahomood Shah is very unpopular and if Shooja-ul-Mulk was present he would be immediately restored to the throne; that, as he fears there is no chance of his being able to effect his escape from Runjeet Sing (as he had refused half the revenue of Cashmere and Mooltan for his release), yet if the Begum could reach him she would be established on the throne during her husband's absence, and requests her if possible to make the attempt if she has any hopes of succeeding in safety and her health equal to the undertaking; but she does not seem inclined to make the trial.

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185. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Captain G. Birch, Assistant Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Moonick, the 7th of January 1815.*

Accommodation of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiána.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 1st of this month, and reporting your proceedings in consequence of the instructions of the Right Honorable the Governor-General communicated in my letter of the 21st ultimo.

2. I am directed to acquaint you that you judged properly of the wishes of the Governor-General in not continuing to urge the removal to Dehli of Wuffa Begum and the other ladies of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Moolk when you found that measure to be contrary to the inclination of the Begum. His Lordship also approves of the steps taken by you for the security of the Begum and her family, of your having selected for them a more convenient dwelling than that in which they at first resided, and of your having supplied them with *cots* and other articles of which they stood

in need. The Governor-General is happy to learn that this accommodation is gratifying to the Begum, and is pleased to sanction the expense incurred for this purpose.

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186. *From G. W. SWINTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, to Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General,—dated Camp Fattegarh, the 28th of March 1815.*

Representation from the Begam Samru.

I AM directed to transmit to you the enclosed translation of a paper delivered to His Excellency the Governor-General by Begum Sumroo, and to desire that you will be pleased to offer such observations as may occur to you on the subject of the Begum's paper.

His Lordship conceives it very unlikely that you should have held forth by any implication the expectation that the British Government would pay to the Begum what might be due to her from Sindiah, or interpose with him for obtaining liquidation of any such account; and the Governor-General can have little doubt that every fair claim was considered at the time that the existing arrangement with the Begum was made.

ENCLOSURE TO 186.

Translation of a paper received from BEGUM SUMROO, dated 14th February 1815.

THE state of the case is this. Previously to the introduction of the British authority in this quarter, my battalions under Colonel Saleur were serving with Doulat Row Sindiah in the Deccan. That Prince, in consideration of their services, was pleased to double their pay, for which he assigned some *mohauls* in *jaidaud* and granted a *sunnud*; but, as General Perron, Sindiah's Manager in Hindoostan, was not at heart attached to his master, and was also ill-disposed towards me, the order was not carried into effect, and he delayed to put me in possession of the villages from day to day. At this period the provinces of Hindoostan were annexed to the

Representation from the Begum Samru.

British Empire, and with the sanction of General Lake I established my authority in 24 *mohauls* in Saharunpore, and my troops were employed for some months in settling the country. Having been subsequently directed to withdraw from those *mohauls*, I paid the troops there, and recalling them from thence delivered over the lands to the officers of the British Government appointed to receive charge of them. Hearing that Mr. Guthrie was surrounded by the Sikhs in Saharunpore, I dispatched my troops to his assistance, and by the blessing of God they succeeded in bringing him off in safety. While he was with me at Sardhana he one day in the course of conversation adverted to my battalions under Colonel Saleur being in the Deccan. Colonel Ochterlony also, when he came to Dehli and I proceeded thither to meet him, said to me that I ought not to leave my battalions with Sindiah, but should recall them from that quarter without delay. I replied that it would be better, and that their recall would soon take place, but observed that the sum of nine laks of rupees was due from Sindiah, on account of their arrears, exclusive of charges for powder and lead, and asked him what he advised to be done. Colonel Ochterlony said: "Why should you have a thought about recovering the money from Sindiah; you ought not even to ask him for a single leaf of *paun*, but consider yourself an adherent and well-wisher of the British Government." Accordingly in the Colonel's presence I dispatched an order to Colonel Saleur directing him to set out immediately on its receipt, and on no account whatever to defer his departure for a single hour. Colonel Saleur, in obedience to my commands, set out with the utmost expedition, and arriving in Hindoostan joined the British Army. The fact of my battalions being in attendance on Lord Lake when he came to this quarter is no doubt known to Your Lordship from the dispatches of that time. When I met the General at Delhi, I said not a word to him on the subject, supposing that all the circumstances had been fully stated by Colonel Ochterlony Some time after when I met the Colonel I questioned him on this point, and he

Representation from the Begam Samru.

pleaded that it had escaped his memory. From that time the seal of silence was on my lips, and I never again spoke on the subject to any of the English gentlemen. Now that Your Lordship has come to this quarter, and those who were looking for this blessing have enjoyed the gratification of experiencing your kindness and favour, you have been pleased to exalt me to the rank of a sister, and I appeal to the Almighty, Who is the searcher of hearts, that I look up to Your Lordship as to an elder brother, and have ever since been entirely occupied with the desire of manifesting the reverence and regard due to that relation, holding the promotion of Your Lordship's wishes to be paramount to every other consideration. Your Lordship's gracious affability and condescension encourage me to lay aside reserve, and I now trouble you with a declaration respecting my receipts and disbursements, the former of which are on the decrease while the latter are on the increase, or in other words I am under circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment. I am persuaded that whatever Your Lordship's enlightened judgment shall suggest in this affair will be the most conducive to my interest.

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187. *From Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Agent, Governor-General, to G. SWINTON, Esquire, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General,—dated Camp, 8th of April 1815.*

Report of Major-General Ochterlony on the representation of the Begam Samru.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th of March, with the translation of a paper presented to the Governor-General by Begum Sumroo.

2. At this distance of time and without an opportunity of referring to the public correspondence at Dehli, it is not possible for me to state, with any pretension to accuracy, the transactions of a period when my attention was engaged by duties as important as they were various, and for a short time embraced military, political and revenual departments, in all of which I was frequently without instructions, compelled to act on the exigency of the moment according to existing circumstances and according to the best of my judgment in

some cases where I had not the benefit of the least previous experience.

Report of Major-General Ochterlony on the representation of the Begam Samru.

3. General Lake certainly did for a time authorise the Begum to collect certain *mehauls* in north Saharunpoor; it was a temporary measure and terminated on the appointment of revenue officers by the British Government.

4. I well remember that the wavering and indecisive conduct of the Begum excited the suspicion and occasioned the high displeasure of Lord Wellesley, by whose order I either sent a letter from himself or communicated his sentiments in a very explicit manner to her, and, though I have not the slightest recollection of the speech she ascribes to me, I think it possible I may have used it, not, however, to encourage a hope of the arrears of Sindiah being paid by the British Government, but to intimate that the loss of those arrears would be more than paid by retaining the lands she now enjoys, and which she indubitably would have lost had she long persisted in the temporising policy she had then adopted.

5. Saleur with the Dukhunny Battalions of the Begum at length arrived at Dehli, but I do not recollect any service on which they were employed under Lord Lake in person. I did send some of them to the Hurriana under Major Brownrigg of the Maharatta Service, where they mutinied and otherwise behaved so ill that when Dehli was attacked by Holkar I rejected the offer she made me of some troops, fearful of employing them at a time when their services might have been useful if their general character for insubordination and misconduct had not rendered me more apprehensive of injury than advantage from their presence.

6. Respecting what the Begum says of my pleading that it had escaped my recollection, it is impossible flatly to deny what is so roundly asserted, but I wish to know what facts escaped my memory and regular report which would have been beneficial to her interests and reputation, and I would likewise wish her to be asked what share I had in the ultimate

Report of Major-General Ochterlony on the representation of the Begam Samru.

settlement of her claims, whatever might be their nature and extent.

7. If I had been, as I shall not readily acknowledge I ever was, neglectful of her interests, why did she neglect her own? She will not, she can not, deny that Mr. Guthrie was sent by Lord Lake for the adjustment of all her accounts, in which was, I believe, included pay to her troops as well as the temporary levies for the collections of the Saharunpoor *mehauls*.

8. She cannot deny that her demands at that time might have been made, and that no period could be more proper than when she was trying to balance the amount of her collections by the expenses incurred, or by any demand or claim which the representative of Government had encouraged or promised.

9. Mr. Guthrie made his report of his proceedings direct to Lord Lake, and it does not occur to me that I was ever further acquainted with the transaction than affording such information as I could to check the exaggerated demands which she then made.

10. I always considered the adjustment made by Mr. Guthrie as final, but whether there was any balance due to the Begum or from her I do not remember, if I ever knew. But I feel the most perfect confidence that I never could have used any expression which implied the payment of arrears or the exertion of our interference for the attainment of them; and I do as sincerely believe that Mr. Guthrie, who was then partial to the Begum and grateful for her conduct in releasing him from the Sikhs, was likely to give every due attention to any claim which could be considered just and equitable, and I am the more convinced of this from my belief that I have heard him regret there was one which he had not thought of, and she had not urged at that moment, which might have been acceded by the British Government.

188. *From Captain G. Birch, Assistant Agent, Governor-General, Lodianah, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—dated the 5th of May 1815.*

I have the honor to communicate, for the information of His Excellency, that Wuffa Begum has informed me of her having received a letter from Shah Shooja-ul-Mulk dated from Rajoree, where he had been kindly received by Rajah Auger Khan and also received the congratulations of the neighbouring Chiefs upon his release, with offers of their services to assist him in any views he might have upon Cashmere. Shah Shooja-ul-Mulk states to the Begum his having written to Mahomud Azzeem Khan, Subadar of Cashmere, and if he accedes to his proposal he expects his plan of operations will be effected without much difficulty, of which he only mentions so much as to observe he hopes soon to be in possession of the fort of Attuk.

Escape of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk from Lahore.

He requests the Begum to remain where she is, and mentions his having given over charge of a daughter, who was left with him, to some one to convey to Lodianah, but desires her not to be alarmed if she does not reach her for some time, as he directed her to be concealed until Runjeet Sing should hear of his being out of his territory and those in pursuit of him returned. She has therefore not yet arrived.

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189. *From Major-General D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 223, dated Camp Buttoh, the 15th of May 1815.*

I have the honor to transmit under the seal and signature of Ummer Sing the Convention or Agreement which has been this day exchanged between that Chief and myself, and I shall feel very sincere concern if the general tenor of it is not fully approved by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Agreement concluded with the Gurkha Commander.

If some indulgences have been granted, I trust counterbalancing advantages have been obtained, and when the near approach of the rainy season is considered, and that during

Agreement concluded with the Gurkha Commander.

that season of inaction expensive establishments must have been continued, I hope His Lordship will be pleased to approve what has been done, and to accept my dutiful congratulations on the general result of my humble but anxious exertions.

ENCLOSURE 1 TO 189.

Convention or Agreement entered into between Kajee UMMER SING THAPPA and Major-General OCHTERLONY, on the 15th May 1815.

IN consideration of the high rank and character of Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa, and of the skill, bravery, and fidelity with which he has defended the country committed to his charge, it is agreed :

1. That Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa, with the troops now in Raujgurh, shall march out and retain their arms and accoutrements, the colours of their respective corps, two guns and all private property, which shall be duly respected and preserved, and every attention and delicacy observed in respect to the Zenana of the Kajee, and every person under his authority.

2. In consideration, also, of the gallant conduct of Kajee Runjore Sing Thappa, it is agreed that he shall likewise march out of the fort of Jeytuck with two hundred men, who are to retain their arms, colours and one gun, with the *Bharadars* (chief officers) and their followers, about three hundred more in number, unarmed, with his own and their private property, which shall be respected, and the sanctity of the Zenana preserved.

3. Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa and Kajee Runjore Sing Thappa, with their property and followers, are at liberty to proceed by the route of Thaneisur, Hurdwar, and Nujeebabad, to join the troops eastward of the river Surjoo,* or by whichever route they determine to proceed to that destination. Conveyance shall be provided for the transportation of their property to the confines of the Nepaul territory.

* or Kalee.

4. Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa and Kajee Runjore Sing Thappa shall be at liberty to meet wherever they please.

Agreement concluded with the Gurkha Commander.

5. All the troops in the service of Nepaul, with the exception of those granted to the personal honor of the Kajees Ummer Sing and Runjore Sing, will be at liberty to enter into the service of the British Government, if it is agreeable to themselves and the British Government choose to accept their services, and those who are not employed will be maintained on a specific allowance by the British Government, till peace is concluded between the two States.

6. Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa, on his part, agrees to leave the fort of Malown, whenever bearers and other conveyance are prepared for his private property.

7. Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa also agrees to send immediate orders for the evacuation and delivery, to persons properly authorised, of the forts of Bhylee (Irkee), Subbatoo, Mornee, Jeytuck, Juggutgurh, Rowaheen, and all other forts and fortresses now held by the Nepaul troops between the Jumna and Sutledge rivers. The garrisons of all which forts, strongholds, etc., shall enjoy their private property unmolested, and the arms and warlike stores in each shall be left in deposit, for the future decision of the Right Honorable the Governor-General; with exception to such among them as are related to Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa by kindred, about eighty-three men, who shall be at liberty to retain their arms and accoutrements.

8. Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa also agrees to send immediate orders to Kajee Bukhtour Sing for the evacuation of the territory of Ghurwall, to deliver over the forts, &c., in that district to the officers of the British Government, and to proceed to Nepaul by the Kamaon route, with their garrisons, all public property including warlike stores, accompanied by a *chuprassie* with a pass on the part of the British Government.

Separate Article.—Kajee Ummer Sing Thappa wishes it to be understood that he shall give immediate orders for the instant surrender of the distant forts, in the hope that it may

lead to an early renewal of the relations of amity which have subsisted between the two States for these sixty years, and by the advice of Beem Sah and the *Bharadars* of Kamaon.

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190. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General,—dated Camp Futtigarh, the 21st of May 1815.*

Acknowledgment of services of Major-General Ochterlony.

I have had the honor to receive and submit to His Excellency the Governor-General your dispatch of the 15th instant, enclosing the agreement concluded by you with Kajee Amer Sing Thappa for the immediate surrender of all the forts and possessions of the Goorkhas west of the river Jumna and in the province of Gurhwal.

2. By this arrangement, which combined with the evacuation of Kemaon has completed the extinction of the Goorkha power and influence in the territory west of the Gogra, a most important object of the war has been accomplished.

3. In the course of the operations conducted by you, to which the attainment of this decisive advantage is to be ascribed in a primary degree, the Governor-General has had repeated occasion to admire and applaud the unremitting vigilance, indefatigable perseverance, and eminent professional ability displayed under circumstances at once arduous in themselves and new in the history of our military operations in India; the profound judgment and the activity and energy regulated by singular discretion and prudence which, supported and seconded by the discipline, valor, and devotion of the officers and troops under your command, have enabled you to overcome the accumulated obstacles to success presented by an active and intrepid enemy possessing every advantage of position in a country peculiarly calculated for defensive war. His Lordship has, in a General Order published to the Army under this day's date, signified the high sense which he entertains of your distinguished merits and services and those of the officers and troops under your command.

4. The tenor of your political proceedings are no less deserving of the approbation of the Governor-General, and, although His Lordship has had the satisfaction of expressing his sense of your services in that branch of your duty as each occasion arose, he feels it due to you to take this opportunity of recording his high and entire approbation of your political proceedings throughout the campaign.

Subsidiary arrangements in connection with the capitulation of the Gurkhas.

5. I now proceed to convey to you His Lordship's sentiments on the terms of capitulation which have been granted to Ummer Sing Thappa and on the several points immediately arising out of that arrangement.

6. You will have received my dispatch of the 12th instant and my private letter of the 8th, subsequently to the conclusion of the agreement with Ummer Sing. The terms which have been actually granted to Ummer Sing and to Runjore Sing, although varying in some respects from those prescribed by the instructions above referred to, are on the whole equally advantageous to our interests and provide no less for the entire accomplishment of the views of the Governor-General in that branch of the military operations and political arrangements which were directed to the expulsion of the Goorkhas from their conquests west of the Ganges.

7. Adverting to the advanced period of the season, and (notwithstanding the reduced state of Malown and the straitened condition of Jyetuck) to the number of strongholds still possessed by the enemy, which might have enabled him to prolong the contest until the setting in of the rains should compel us to suspend our operations; considering also the vast importance in an economical point of view of terminating the western branch of the war in the present season, and the peculiar magnitude of that object with reference both to its probable influence in accelerating peace and to the additional means afforded of prosecuting the war with vigor, should it be protracted to another campaign, the Governor-General is of opinion that the terms granted to the enemy must be

Subsidiary arrangements in connection with the capitulation of the Gurkhas.

considered to be fully justified by the relative situation of the parties and the inappreciable advantages secured to us by their operation. They are accordingly approved and confirmed by the Governor-General.

8. You will have taken all the requisite measures and precautions relative to the march of that portion of the enemy's force which has been permitted to retire with Ummer Sing and Runjore Sing to the Nipaulese territory beyond the Gogra, to the provision of supplies and carriage, and to the appointment of an officer properly qualified to superintend all these arrangements and to conduct them through the Company's territories. It will be satisfactory, however, to His Lordship to receive from you a detailed report on all these points at your earliest leisure. His Lordship observes that the route to be taken by Ummer Sing and Runjore Sing and their respective followers was not finally settled, and His Lordship is anxious to know how that point may have been determined. In the uncertainty which prevails relative to the actual state of the Province of Dotee the Governor-General deems it to be necessary that Ummer Sing and Runjore Sing with their followers should enter the Nipaulese territories at a point to the eastward of that province. If, as His Lordship deems to be probable, that province has been wrested from the Goorkha Government, the foregoing arrangement will be in conformity both to the spirit and the letter of the engagement, which must be strictly fulfilled under all circumstances.

9. I am further directed to inform you that His Lordship is desirous of receiving at as early a period as may be practicable a detailed report of your negotiations and communications with Ummer Sing from their commencement until the conclusion of the agreement.

10. I shall have the honor of addressing you in a separate dispatch on the subject of the arrangements which it will be expedient to frame with regard to the countries which

have fallen at the disposal of the British Government by the expulsion of the Goorkhas.

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191. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 28th of May 1815.*

Appointment of Major-General Ochterlony as Supdt. of Political Affairs and Agent of the Govr.-Genl. in the territories of the Protected Sikh and Hill Chiefs.

YOUR appointment to the General Staff of the Army having superseded the operation of the resolution of the Governor-General in Council conferring on you the command of the fort of Allahabad, with an extra civil allowance of rupees 1,000 per mensem, in order to place you on a footing in point of salary with the Adjutant-General of the Army, according to the principle of remuneration assumed on that occasion, your appointment to the command of Allahabad and the consequent emoluments of that command will cease from the date which may be determined by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council in the Military Department. The civil allowance above referred to will cease from the same date.

2. The Governor-General adverting to the augmented scale of your political duties occasioned by the recent expulsion of the Goorkha power from the countries west of the Jumna, over which your general powers of superintendence and control are to be extended, His Lordship has deemed the present a fit occasion to revise the salary hitherto drawn by you in your political capacity, with a view to placing it on a scale more adequate to the nature of the duties to be performed, as well as to your rank and situation in the service.

3. His Lordship has accordingly been pleased to appoint you to be Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent of the Governor-General in the territories of the Protected Sikh and Hill Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutledge, and to authorize you to draw in that capacity a salary of *Sicca* Rupees 1,500 per mensem from the first of next month, on which date the salary now drawn by you on that account will cease.

192. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 28th of May 1815.*

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

IN conformity to the intention stated in the concluding paragraphs of my dispatch of the 21st instant,[1] I now proceed, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, to communicate to you His Lordship's resolutions and instructions relative to the settlement of the countries west of the Jumna from which the power and authority of the Goorkhas have been expelled by your arms.

2. In framing these instructions the Governor-General has availed himself of the information and suggestions contained in your private dispatch of the 14th instant to my address. As, however, there are many material questions involved in the arrangement on which His Lordship does not possess information sufficiently precise to enable him to form a conclusive judgment, you will be pleased to observe that the instructions now communicated are not to be considered as final, except in so far as they may coincide with the result of your own consideration of the subject on the spot, and as you may regard the delay arising from further reference unnecessary or inexpedient. In such cases His Lordship authorizes you to act at once on the instructions now transmitted, or on your own discretion, regulated by the general principles stated in this dispatch. On all other points it is His Lordship's desire to receive from you a full report of your sentiments and the facts and circumstances on which they are founded, that he may thence be able to frame his final resolutions and orders with the most complete information before him on every branch of the subject.

3. In considering the basis of an arrangement for the settlement of the countries to the westward of the Jumna, which have come under our controul by the events of the war, the Governor-General has reverted to the views and sentiments expressed in the instructions addressed to you

[1] 190 *supra.*

under date the 30th September 1814.[1] It appears to His Lordship that the general principles on which those instructions were founded will still form the most desirable basis of the proposed settlement, subject to such modifications and exceptions as may result from the particular circumstances and events of the war, or from a more correct knowledge of the disposition and actual state of the Chiefs and people who are to be the subjects of the arrangement.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

4. The principal feature of the arrangement then contemplated was the restoring to their ancient territories the Hill Rajahs reduced to subjection or expelled by the Goorkhas; and this was founded partly on the apparent inutility and inexpediency of appropriating to the Honorable Company any portion of the tract under review, and partly on the belief and expectation that a knowledge of this intention on our part would stimulate the Chiefs and the people to exert themselves in effecting the expulsion of the common enemy. This expectation has been but partially realized; and in strictness few of the expelled Chiefs, or their subjects, have entitled themselves to the fulfilment of the terms of the Proclamation by a performance of the corresponding conditions. The permanent annexation of any part of the hilly country west of the Jumna to the dominions of the Honorable Company is not, however, with some exceptions which will be hereafter adverted to, more an object of importance to our interests than it was considered to be when the general question was formerly under discussion. On the whole, then, His Lordship retains his resolution to restore the ancient Chiefs in all cases in which special reasons do not exist against the adoption of the measure, limiting the acquisitions of the British Government to such places only as it may be expedient to retain permanently or temporarily in order to secure our influence and power and to indemnify us to a certain degree for the expense of those establishments which we must necessarily maintain. From the above passage you will also infer His Lordship's resolution to exercise a more

[1] 177 *supra*.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

constant, direct and efficacious controul over the reinstated Chiefs than was altogether contemplated at the period when the instructions of the 30th September 1814 were drawn.

5. Mature reflexion on the character, habits and former history of those petty Chiefs has satisfied His Lordship that the permanent operation of a vigorous controul will be necessary to prevent the revival of ancient feuds and animosities leading to commotion and disorder, and that the inconvenience and embarrassment of arbitrating and settling their disputes and mutual claims cannot be avoided without the certainty of incurring evils of a more serious complexion.

6. The retention in our hands of the fortresses of Malown and Subhatoo, for a considerable time at least, appears to His Lordship to be highly expedient on the grounds stated in your private letter above referred to and in the preceding paragraphs. To each of these fortresses should, in His Lordship's judgment, be annexed a tract of contiguous and surrounding territory to be under the exclusive management and controul of the officers of the British Government. This territory should not exceed what may be deemed absolutely necessary for the attainment of the object of its retention, namely the secure and efficient occupation of the fortresses. The produce of these lands, whatever it may be, will of course be applicable to the expenses of the garrisons.

7. The Governor-General approves your suggestion for retaining the heavy ordnance in the fort of Malown, and the Commander-in-Chief will be requested to authorize the arrangements which this measure will render necessary. It is His Lordship's opinion that the garrison both of Malown and Subhatoo may be composed of irregular troops (Goorkhas or other hill tribes), and that no larger proportion of regular troops than may be deemed absolutely necessary should be retained in them. On this subject you will be pleased to report to the Commander-in-Chief, under whose immediate direction the strength and composition of the garrisons will be fixed.

8. I now proceed to state the observations and instructions of the Governor-General relative to each of the hill principalities between the Jumna and the Sutledge.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

9. *Kuhloor or Belaspore.*—The Rajah of Kuhloor having been guaranteed in his possessions on this side of the Sutledge by the terms of the *sunnud* under the signature and seal of the Governor-General bearing date the 6th of March last, and having performed the conditions of the grant, no question arises in his case as far as relates to his actual possessions. His Lordship's attention has been drawn, however, to your observations relative to the subjection to the paramount authority of the Rajah of Kuhloor of the Thakooraees of Bujjee and Damee, which are stated by you to have been formerly attached to that Raj. Although Rajah Maha Chund has fulfilled his engagements with fidelity, that conduct of itself does not constitute a degree of merit sufficient to entitle him to any particular favor beyond that which was the plighted condition for his service; but, as you appear to think that advantage will result from the suggested arrangement, as evincing and thereby strengthening the influence of Sunsaroo, the Rajah's "Vizier", whose conduct is described by you as having been marked by firmness, propriety and discretion, His Lordship is prepared to sanction that arrangement if you continue to be of opinion that it will be advisable. The arrangement is further recommended, as observed by you, by a consideration of the expediency of not throwing too much weight into the hands of the Rajah of Hindoor, under whose paramount authority it is proposed to place such of the twelve Thakooraees as are not otherwise disposed of. Previously to leaving this part of the subject, I am directed to observe that from a map in the possession of the Governor-General, believed to be compiled from good authorities, the Thakooraee of Baghul appears to intervene between the territory of Kuhloor and Bujjee and Damee. There would, His Lordship conceives, be some awkwardness and probable inconvenience from the intervention of Baghul, subject to another paramount authority, between the territory of Kuhloor and its two proposed dependent Thakooraees.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

This point will no doubt be susceptible of explanation, and constitutes the only obstacle to an entire approval and sanction by His Lordship of the proposed arrangement. You have of course satisfied yourself that the rendering the 12 Thakoors subject to the paramount authority of other Chiefs contravenes no just or acknowledged right or privilege of the former.

10. *Hindoor.*—Rajah Ram Surn has by his fidelity and active exertions in the war established a claim to the consideration of the British Government, not lessened by the strong motives of personal interest which incited him to make those exertions. He is accordingly fully entitled to the restoration of his former territories and even to marks of favor, and His Lordship is happy that the means of conferring additional benefit on him are to be found in an arrangement which will also be advantageous to the public interests in other respects. The reservation in our hands of Malown and the territory to be annexed to that fortress, forming an exception to the general restitution of Ram Surn's territories, although a measure to which he could not justly, and probably would not, take exception, constitutes another reason for wishing to promote an arrangement beneficial to Ram Surn, who of all the Hill Chiefs has deserved best of the British Government.

11. *Barrah Thakooraee.*—His Lordship entirely approves of the plan for rendering subject to the paramount authority of Rajah Ram Surn the Barrah Thakooraee, with the exception of the two to be placed in the same relation to Rajah Maha Chund of Kuhloor, and the Thakooraee of Bughat and a portion of Keonthul, which will be disposed of in the manner stated in the sequel.

12. It will be necessary in carrying this arrangement into execution, as well as that affecting Bujjee and Damee, to ascertain and fix by proper engagements the precise degree of right over these districts and their Chiefs conferred by the paramountship. You will be pleased therefore to attend to this point in the execution of the proposed plan.

13. *Keonthul.*—Under the circumstances reported by you relative to the backwardness of the family of the Chief of

Keonthul, with ample means of materially assisting your operations, the Governor-General has no hesitation in authorizing the reservation of a portion of his territory on the restoration of the rest, both as an act of justice in itself and as marking a proper sense of the remissness and indifference of that family. The previous situation of the Rajah and his family renders his restoration to any part of the ancient territories of his family an act of pure and unmixed bounty on the part of the British Government, and must be so considered both by himself and the other Chiefs.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

14. The proposition for farming to Rajah Ram Surn the portion of Keonthul to be withheld from its former possessor is approved. You will accordingly fix the rent and carry the arrangement into execution. His Lordship is not apprized whether Subhatoo, which is in Keonthul, be situated within the tract proposed to be farmed to Ram Surn. If it be, the territory to be annexed to the fort must be excluded from the farm, as no intermixed authority should be allowed in the fort lands.

15. *Bughat.*—The conduct of the Chief of Bughat has been such as to forfeit all claim to the restitution of his territories, and the Governor-General accordingly authorizes the retention of that tract for the Honorable Company as a partial compensation for the expenses of the establishment it will have to maintain. The Governor-General is not aware of the means of support possessed by the Thakoor of Bughat before the war; but, if it should not be equal to the comfortable maintenance of his family, His Lordship would not be indisposed to assign to him a reasonable subsistence from the revenues of Bughat. You will be pleased to report to me for His Lordship's information the amount which you would recommend in case of your deeming any such allowance necessary.

16. His Lordship further desires me to request that you will report the arrangement which you would propose for the management of the lands of Bughat under the resolution now communicated to you of retaining it for the Company.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

17. You are aware that the Governor-General is not apprized of the particulars of the conduct pursued by any of the 12 Thakoors during the late military operations in Hindoor and Sirmore, excepting those whose case has just been specially adverted to. His Lordship infers from your silence on this subject that you consider it to have been such as to warrant their restoration, with the declared exceptions, to their old possessions, subject to the paramount authority under which it is proposed to place them.

18. *Bussaher.*—In your original communication with the Ranee, the mother of the infant Rajah of Bussaher, she candidly stated her inability to offer opposition to the Goorkhas. The conduct of the principal persons in this State, although their active exertions against the Goorkhas were postponed till an advanced period of the campaign and after the British Government had manifestly obtained the superiority, has yet been such as in His Lordship's judgment to entitle the ancient family to be established in the full enjoyment of its former possessions under engagements of protection and guarantee on the one part and feudatory obligation on the other, similar to those to be concluded between the British Government and the other Hill Chiefs. No other arrangement of Bussaher would indeed be so convenient considering its remote situation and other circumstances.

19. On referring to the account of this country contained in the report transmitted with your dispatch of the 29th August 1814,[1] His Lordship is disposed to think that advantages of a commercial nature may be attainable under proper arrangements with this country. Should your further information lead you to retain this opinion, you are requested to report particularly the nature of the arrangements which you would recommend. If you are not prepared to offer an opinion on the subject at the present moment, it will be yet expedient to avoid any engagement which may preclude us from availing ourselves of further knowledge on this point. The investigation of this subject should form a subject of the

[1] 176 *supra.*

particular attention of the officer employed in the superintendence of the Hill Chiefs.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

20. *Petty Independent Principalities.*—Between Bussaher to the north and Sirmore to the south lie the States enumerated below, which are understood to be independent, though they have occasionally been compelled to submit to the temporary domination of their more powerful neighbours :—

Bulsun.
Dillee.
Kunaitoo.
Beja.
Raieen.
Ootrooch.
Joobul.
Koomharsein.

21. You are apprized that Mr. Fraser was authorized by the Governor-General in a dispatch from me dated the 7th of March, of which you received a copy, to promise the Chiefs of Joobul that their independence should be guaranteed to them if they exerted themselves against the Goorkhas. The condition having been fulfilled to the extent of their means, the promise must be performed. No information is before Government respecting the conduct of the Chiefs of the other petty States above enumerated, but it will be in your recollection that in the instructions to Mr. Fraser just referred to he was, in consequence of a suggestion of yours, desired to hold out to them an assurance similar to that made to Joobul. His Lordship requests that you will correspond on this subject with Mr. Fraser, and, having ascertained how far they have performed the condition on which their independence was to be secured, either proceed to give effect to the promise held out or refer for the decision of the Governor-General as the nature of each respective case may require.

22. His Lordship is of opinion that considerable advantage would result from placing these petty States, or a portion of them, under the paramount authority of some superior Chief without invading their internal independent authority. You

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

will be pleased therefore to take this subject into consideration and report your opinion for the information and decision of the Governor-General. On this subject His Lordship conceives that useful information and suggestions will be received from Mr. Fraser, who has had a good deal of intercourse with some of these Chiefs, under your authority and the instructions of the Governor-General.

23. *Mornee.*—The little State of Mornee will be restored to Syad Jaffer, the representative of the Mussulman family which formerly possessed it, and who has brought forward a body of good irregulars to co-operate with the force under your command and has shewn considerable zeal and attachment.

24. *Sirmore.*—The Governor-General discerns no reason for altering the opinion which was expressed in my dispatch to Mr. Fraser of the 7th of March, above referred to, relative to the expediency and propriety of excluding Kurum Perkaush from the government of Sirmore and vesting it in his minor son, Futteh Singh, under the guardianship and administration of one or more of his male relatives and subject to the general control and superintendency of the British Government, at least until the Rajah be able to conduct his affairs himself and the administration be firmly established. You will accordingly consider yourself authorized to take early measures for carrying this arrangement into effect. The principal practical difficulty will be in the selection of a fit person among the male relatives of the young Rajah to fill the office of guardian and minister. The Governor-General is not prepared to pronounce whether the misconduct of Kishen Sing was such as to deprive him of all claim to the restoration of that confidence to which he was formerly considered entitled, or how far his subsequent conduct has redeemed his character.

25. Had those circumstances not occurred there would have been no doubt of the expediency of vesting the executive administration of the government of Sirmore in him, and His Lordship deems it advisable that you should ascertain by enquiry from Mr. Fraser and other well informed persons to

what extent his conduct on the occasion alluded to, combined with his subsequent proceedings, should be considered to disqualify him for the trust. On your report on the subject of appointing a guardian, whether Kishen Sing or any other individual, His Lordship will be prepared to communicate his final decision.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

26. In order to give effect to the arrangement now proposed it will be necessary that an officer of the British Government, acting under your orders, should be nominated for the duty of controlling and superintending the administration. The extent to which his interference should be carried must depend on considerations arising out of the nature of the administration and the personal character of those concerned in it, on all which points a report from you is desired by His Lordship.

27. You will remember that it was proposed to occupy the Kaardah Doon permanently for the Honorable Company. This possession, besides its eventual importance in a military point of view, might contribute to the general re-imbursement of the expense which the British Government must necessarily incur in establishments for the maintenance of the arrangements discussed in this letter. You will be pleased to report your opinion regarding the retention or relinquishment of the Kaardah Doon. His Lordship is further desirous of ascertaining from you whether you consider the possession of a fortress in Sirmore by the British Government to be expedient or necessary.

28. As you have not had the opportunity of obtaining a local knowledge of the territory of Sirmore, you will of course consider yourself at liberty to obtain the sentiments of any officers lately serving in that quarter from whom useful information and suggestions may be derived besides those of Mr. Fraser. Should it be ultimately judged expedient to retain a fort in Sirmore, a tract of land in the vicinity should be annexed to it, in like manner as proposed for Malown and Subhatoo.

Settlement of Hill territories conquered from the Gurkhas.

29. The district of Jounsar lying to the north-east of Sirmore proper between the Tonse and the Jumna is understood to belong to Sirmore. The people of this district have acted with more zeal and spirit and apparent sincerity against the Goorkhas than almost any other class of persons in that quarter. On this account it will be proper to secure to them the enjoyment of all their just rights and privileges, and a stipulation to this effect should be entered into with the Government of Sirmore in their favor. On this subject also Mr. Fraser is fully informed.

30. It will be necessary either to conclude specific engagements with each of the Hill Chiefs, who form the subject of these instructions, binding them to submit to our arbitration and decision their differences with foreign States, and with each other, to furnish their troops when called for, and generally to perform all the duties resulting from the feudatory relation in which they will stand towards us, and to secure the free passage of our merchants and their goods through their respective territories; or else to define and enjoin all their duties and the corresponding obligation of protection and guarantee in a *Proclamation to be published throughout the territories under consideration.* You will be pleased to adopt whichever of these modes may appear to you most expedient with reference to the character of the people and other circumstances.

31. I have now adverted to all the separate States and districts lying to the westward of the Jumna with the exception of the extensive district of Rowaieen. That district, belonging to the Raj of Gurhwal, does not necessarily come within the scope of this discussion.

32. The early and continued intercourse held by Mr. Fraser with that Raj and your distance from it renders it expedient to reserve the consideration of the interests and final disposal of Gurhwal for separate discussion with Mr. Fraser.

33. His Lordship will be happy nevertheless to receive and consider any suggestions which your general knowledge

and experience may enable you to offer relative to that country.

34. A copy of the instructions[1] issued to Mr. Fraser under this date, relative to the settlement of Gurhwal, is herewith transmitted for your information.

Arrangements for the superintendence of the new territory.

35. It now remains to state to you the arrangement by which the Governor-General proposes that the superintending and controlling authority of the British Government should be exercised over those countries, the settlement of which forms the subject of this dispatch.

36. The principal political and military authority in the hill country lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge (with the exception of Rowaieen) will be exercised by you with the same powers and under the same arrangements as are in force with regard to the protected territories below the hills. The Governor-General is aware that the extended duties and powers which will now devolve on you will require more efficient assistance than you at present can command in your political capacity. His Lordship is satisfied that great advantage will be derived to the public interests from the employment of Lieutenant Ross, of the 6th Regiment, in the performance of that branch of the duties which you propose should be assigned to him. Lieutenant Ross will accordingly be appointed to be your Assistant with a salary of rupees five hundred per mensem, exclusive of his pay and regimental allowances. His Lordship has very great satisfaction in thus promoting the interests of the public service and at the same time bestowing a merited reward on an officer whose conduct has so uniformly been applauded by you and obtained the cordial approbation of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. His Lordship has not thought it necessary that Lieutenant Ross' appointment should designate the precise department in which you propose to employ him, it appearing that convenience will arise from leaving to your discretion the distribution of the business among your Assistants. Should any particular advantage appear to you to be likely to result

[1] Not printed.

Arrangements for the superintendence of the new territory.

from a more particular designation of his duties, there can be no objection to it being distinctly expressed.

37. His Lordship concurs in the reasons which you have assigned for separating the management and control of Sirmore from the general duties to be assigned to Lieutenant Ross, and approves the proposed delegation of that trust to Captain Birch, of whose temper, judgment and discretion His Lordship has formed a very favorable opinion.

38. As a remuneration for the additional duty thus imposed upon him, Captain Birch's salary will be raised to five hundred rupees per mensem from the date of his assumption of the new duty assigned to him.

39. Among other advantages resulting from the employment of these officers in the manner proposed, His Lordship expects that their attention will be given to the survey of the countries within their superintendence, and to the collection and communication of scientific and statistic information; and His Lordship accordingly desires that they may be furnished with instructions to this effect.

40. You will hereafter be informed of the arrangement which may be made for the command of the Nusseree Goorkhas.

Employment of Irregular troops.

41. As connected with the subject of this dispatch, I am directed to call your attention to the subject of the Irregular troops serving with your Division of the army and with that lately under the command of Major-General Martindell. You have received orders on this subject from the Adjutant-General's Office, and will of course proceed to reduce their number as fast as circumstances will admit. You are aware that the Irregulars serving at Jeytuck and generally within the limits of Major-General Martindell's command were raised and embodied through the immediate agency of Mr. Fraser, with whom therefore you will be pleased to correspond relative to the discharge of those levies. It is principally with reference to the corps composed of Goorkhas and other hill tribes that I now am instructed to address you.

42. It appears to His Lordship to be very advisable to retain in our pay, or in that of our feudatories, the restored Hill Rajahs, all the Goorkha levies that are disposed to remain even after the conclusion of peace. Their peculiar aptitude for hill service and their general qualities as soldiers will render them valuable troops in many supposable situations, while their employment will prevent the necessity of keeping our regular sepoys in the hills. Employment of Irregular troops.

43. The same remarks, His Lordship believes, will apply to some of the other hill levies. His Lordship, however, thinks it necessary to observe that the establishment of Goorkha or hill troops, to be kept in the pay of the Honorable Company, ought not to extend beyond what you shall consider as strictly required by the duties attendant on the arrangements directed in the foregoing pages. The latter it is probable will find service among the restored Rajahs,—an arrangement which it will be desirable to make with respect both to them and such of the Goorkhas as may not be required for our own garrisons, with a view to the reduction of expense.

44. His Lordship requests that you will take the whole subject into your consideration with reference to these remarks and state your sentiments for his information and decision.

45. Mr. Fraser will be furnished with copies of such parts of this dispatch as relate to the points on which you have been requested to communicate with him.

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193. *From Major-General D. Ochterlony, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Loodeana, to J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 226, dated the 9th of July 1815.*

I have the honor to transmit copies and translations of a correspondence with Wuffa Begum, which I take the liberty to request you will early submit to the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General. Destitute condition of the Begam of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

Destitute condition of the Begam of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

2. On my arrival here I was very much concerned to find that the Begum was attended by such a number of relations and dependants that the largest and best house in the town of Loodeana was quite insufficient for their accommodation with any degree of comfort, and by no means suited to the ideas of eastern privacy and decorum.

3. It was a still greater subject of regret to me to learn that the King's escape from Lahore had deprived her of the remittances which till then he had made for her subsistence and support; that she was consequently in the greatest distress increased by a want of credit with the bankers who had formerly supplied her in the hope that some arrangements would be made for her benefit by the British Government, or that at least the remittances would be continued from Shah Shujah.

4. Her own accounts of the difficulties and embarrassments to which a combination of untoward events had reduced her were confirmed on enquiry from so many and disinterested quarters that I could not but consider the credit and reputation of the British Government in a certain degree involved, and in consequence addressed the letter No. 1, which produced the reply No. 2 in her own handwriting, and yesterday the letter No. 3,[1] in which she rightly supposes that the expectations implied in her first answer had deterred me from touching on the subject in any appeal to His Lordship's liberality and kindness.

5. I am even now at a loss in what terms to solicit His Lordship's consideration of her forlorn and helpless state, sensible as I am of the many calls on Government of the most urgent nature, and believing as I firmly do that the Begum's hopes of joining her husband at Mooltan will never be realized. Her support will not only be a permanent call on the bounty of Government, but the late accounts of the Shah Shujah seem to render it a subject of just apprehension that, if he escapes the vigilance of Runjeet and the great exertions which great rewards are likely to incite to his seizure, he will at an early period himself make his appearance within the

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

British territory or in the Protected States, and add to the burdens the distracted state of his country has already imposed.

Destitute condition of the Begam of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

6. To alleviate the distresses I could not doubt, and at the same time to repress all extravagant pretensions or expectations, I sent her yesterday evening as from myself a thousand rupees, requesting her to repay me if she received any remittances from His Majesty, and again earnestly recommending to her a rigid economy.

7. This small sum, however, is in reality reduced to Rs. 750, as the *Queen* could not so far forget her royalty as to send a less sum than 250 rupees as a *tusudooq* for my arrival and safety. My remonstrances on this subject were unavailing, and Captain Birch informed me his own consideration on a similar occasion had only produced the transfer from his own servants to the boys and beggars in the streets of Loodeana.

8. If their assertions are at all to be depended on, Runjeet has plundered them of valuables to a very large amount, and his seizure of part of the property left in the hands of Baluckram, a banker, affords him a pretext to withhold much which they assert, and I am persuaded believe, has never reached Runjeet's treasury.

9. They also mention six laks of rupees lodged in other hands, but forget whether it has been seized by Runjeet, or on what pretence it has been withheld. It is not of so much consequence to the purpose of this appeal to convince His Lordship of the wealth they did possess, or the unexpected losses they have sustained, as to represent my firm conviction that the Begum has been obliged to dispose of some jewels of small value to procure the daily food of a very considerable number of dependants, ninety-six of whom I think she represents as near relations or connections of the blood royal.

10. England has long afforded an asylum and support to exiled Princes, and revolutions the most unexpected have restored them to their country and their thrones, under circumstances more improbable than the ultimate success of

Destitute condition of the Begam of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

Futteh Khan's endeavours to effect the restoration of Shah Shuja, in which case, though the gratitude of Princes is not proverbial, the attention and hospitality of the British Government to his family or himself might, with his sectish antipathy to the Sheeahs, give us a friend in a quarter where one may be earlier required than a few weeks since would have been thought possible.

11. It is not, however, to the political judgment or foresight of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General that I wish, or that it would be becoming in me, to appeal. A foreigner, a stranger, and a woman of high birth and elevated station, is in distress approaching to misery, and has thrown herself on the protection of a Government famed for its humanity and generosity. As the agent of that Government, I am most anxious to do every justice to its high character, but I am not insensible to the imperious necessity of economy, and I do not wish to trust to individual feeling for the regulation of my public conduct in a matter where I might be equally liable to censure for a discreditable parsimony or a too lavish profusion.

12. The departure of the Begum should be encouraged and even hastened if possible; but, as I do not think this a likely event, I would most humbly submit to His Lordship the necessity of relieving her present distress by a monthly stipend, and I would recommend that the amount should be regulated by the belief that it must be permanent.

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194. *From Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodianah, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 227, dated the 16th of July 1815.*

Proposed appointment of Lieutenant W. Murray *vice* Mr. R. P. Ochterlony.

I HAVE the honor to report to you that I have received letters from Mr. R. P. Ochterlony informing me of his intention to remain in Calcutta and requesting to resign his situation as my Assistant, which I beg you will do me the favor to submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General

with my humble request that Lieutenant Murray may be appointed in his stead.

2. It would, however, afford me pleasure if His Lordship's acquiescence was accompanied by an addition to the salary (200 rupees) drawn by Mr. Ochterlony, in consideration of the additional duties which he will have to perform by my own extended agency and superintendence, and by his having generally to execute alone what was divided between Captain Birch and Mr. R. P. Ochterlony, for which he relinquishes a situation of comparative ease and greater allowances in his regimental appointment.

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195. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 19th of July 1815.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 226, dated the 9th instant,[1] from which the Governor-General has learned with great regret the state of distress to which Wuffa Begum has been reduced, chiefly by the failure of the resources which she derived from the remittances of Shah Shuja previously to his escape from the power of Rajah Runjeet Sing. Destitute condition of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

2. Motives of humanity and of regard for the character of the British Government seem to His Lordship to require that some provision should be assigned for the support of this unfortunate Princess during the period of her remaining under British protection. But previously to assigning any specific sum for this purpose His Lordship is desirous of receiving a communication of your opinion as to the amount of the monthly stipend which would enable the Begum to maintain herself, her family and her followers, with comfort and decency, observing that His Lordship does not contemplate the placing her in a state of affluence conformable with her high rank or expectations, but merely wishes to relieve

[1] 193 *supra*.

Destitute condition of the family of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

her from present distress and inconvenience, and to afford her the means of respectably maintaining herself and her family at the least charge to the Government. You will, therefore, previously to forming your opinion as to the amount of the allowance to be assigned to her, strongly urge her to discharge all superfluous and unnecessary followers, and to reduce her establishment to the narrowest limits consistent with her respectability and ease.

3. Though His Lordship discerns but little ground for indulging the hope that the Begum may be induced to leave Lodhiana and proceed to join Shah Shoojah in Multan, you will nevertheless, whenever a fit occasion may occur, use your best endeavours, but with the utmost delicacy and caution, to prevail on her to adopt this desirable step.

4. The Governor-General is pleased to approve of your having advanced the sum of one thousand rupees to the Begum in your own name, and to authorize you to charge that amount in your public accounts.

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196. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 25th of July 1815.*

Appointment of Lieutenant W. Murray, *vice* Mr. R. P. Ochterlony.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 227, dated the 16th instant, and to inform you that the Governor-General is pleased to appoint Lieutenant William Murray of the 1st Regiment of Native Infantry to be your Assistant in the room of Mr. Ochterlony, resigned.

2. Adverting to the extended nature of the duties which Lieutenant Murray will have to perform in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Ochterlony and the allotment of a special duty to Captain Birch, His Lordship deems it equitable to fix Lieutenant Murray's salary at a higher rate than that received by Mr. Ochterlony or Captain Birch previously to the late arrangement and is pleased accordingly to assign to Lieutenant Murray a salary of four hundred rupees per mensem.

197. *From J. Adam, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General D. Ochterlony, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 2nd of August 1815.*

Treatment to be accorded Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiána.

The information communicated in your private letter to my address of the 24th July of the expected arrival of Shah Shoojah at Lodhiana renders it expedient that you should be furnished without delay with instructions for your guidance in such an event. The Governor-General accordingly commands me to convey to you the following directions.

2. Embarrassing and inconvenient as the arrival of Shah Shoojah within the British dominions cannot fail to prove, it would be inconsistent with humanity and with the reputation and dignity of the British Government to refuse an asylum to the unfortunate monarch ; and His Lordship entirely approves, therefore, of your having directed Lieutenant Ross, in the event of Shah Shoojah's arrival at Lodhiana during your absence, to manifest towards His Majesty every mark of kindness and respect, not involving public demonstrations of those observances. It will be proper to take an early opportunity of intimating to His Majesty your own opinion and that of the Governor-General that in his present circumstances it is incumbent on him to preserve a strict *incognito*. Presuming that Shah Shoojah is destitute or nearly so of the means of support, it will be unavoidable to make a provision for that purpose ; and you are accordingly authorized to make such advances of money for His Majesty's use as may be indispensably necessary, regulating their amount by a scale of the utmost practicable moderation. His Lordship will hereafter consider the expediency of allotting a fixed sum for His Majesty's expenses.

3. It is considered by the Governor-General to be extremely desirable that Shah Shoojah should remove from Lodhiana to a position less obnoxious to Rajah Runjeet Sing. You will accordingly take the earliest opportunity of proposing this measure to His Majesty and carrying it into effect. It

Treatment to be accorded Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Ludhiána.

occurs to His Lordship that Kurnaul or Seharunpore would be a convenient position until arrangements could be made for establishing him at a station still more distant from the frontier. Delhi, which in some points of view would be convenient, appears to His Lordship to be objectionable on other grounds. On this point, however, His Lordship would wish the decision to be left to your discretion and that of Mr. Metcalfe.

4. His Lordship apprehends that the King may object to removing from Lodhiana under an apprehension that it will increase the obstacles to his eventual return to his own country, but His Lordship hopes that your address will overcome his objections.

5. The arrival of Shah Shoojah within the British territory must necessarily excite considerable uneasiness in the mind of Runjeet Sing, which will, however, no doubt be allayed by His Majesty's removal from the frontier. It will be proper, however, to be prepared to state the case to Runjeet Sing exactly as it has happened, declaring at the same time that His Majesty's retirement within the British territory, far from being desired or encouraged, can only be a source of regret and inconvenience to the British Government, but that an asylum and the observances of hospitality and respect cannot be refused to an unfortunate Prince who has thrown himself on its protection.

6. In my private letter of yesterday's date conveying the substance of the above instructions you were authorized to make an immediate communication to the effect just stated to Runjeet Sing. His Lordship will, however, approve of your having suspended it if you shall have thought proper, as well as in the same case of your continuing to withhold it until some application shall be made on the subject by Runjeet Sing.

7. This letter will be transmitted under an open cover to Mr. Metcalfe.

198. *From Major-General D. OCHTERLONY, Superintendent of Political Affairs, and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana, to J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government,—No. 233, dated the 5th of August 1815.*

Revision of establishment of Ludhiána Agency.

I HAVE the honor to transmit herewith a statement of my actual establishment [1] and the one I think should be kept for the Hills. I regret to see it so large, but there is one item which may be very much reduced, as my habits and inclinations would lead me to keep nearly the same *sowary* establishment as a Major-General on the Staff, as I now do, combining my civil and military duties, and an office tent or two is in reality the only addition.

2. In presenting therefore the accompanying to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General I beg you will submit to His Lordship my humble request for a consolidated allowance of one thousand rupees for moonshies, English writers, *mutsuddies, ameens* and *hurkarrahs* for the Sikh and Hill Departments.

3. For the latter I have often incurred considerable loss, as I have found it frequently necessary to send out intelligent and trustworthy men to investigate on the spot the truth or falsehood of some assertions which have been made in cases of complaint where the oaths of one party have been in direct contradiction to the other.

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199. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY, K. C. B., Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 18th of August 1815.*

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 233, dated the 5th instant.

2. The Governor-General is pleased, in compliance with your request, to grant you a consolidated monthly allowance of one thousand (1,000) rupees for the entertainment of Moonshees, Writers, Mutsuddies, Aumeens, Hurkarras, &c., to take effect from the 1st of June.

[1] Not traceable in the Punjab Records.

200. *From J. ADAM, Esquire, Secretary to Government, to Major-General Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY, K. C. B., Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent, Governor-General, Lodhiana,—dated Camp Fattigarh, the 20th August 1815.*

Stipend for the Begam of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, and to inform you, with reference to my former dispatch on the subject, that the Governor-General authorizes the payment of an allowance to Wuffa Begum of rupees one thousand five hundred (Rs. 1,500) per mensem, until further orders.

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201. *Extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 15th of December 1815.*

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Acknowledgment of the services of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony.

3. "But we have in an especial manner to notice the brilliant and decisive exploits of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Commanding the Third Division of the Army, and of the officers and troops under his orders, first, after compelling Ummer Sing, the Goorkha Commander opposed to him, to retire to the Malown range of hills, then successfully reducing the forts of the Ramghur range previously occupied by that Chief, and next directing his attention to the means of investing Ummer Sing's new position, so as to cut off his supplies and compel him to surrender or risk an action; secondly, in establishing himself by an able and well-adjusted combination of movements in two positions on the heights of Malown, by means of which he is said to have effectually broken the continuity of the enemy's chain of posts, to have forced him to confine himself to the fort of Malown and its immediate outworks, and to have gained a position from which he would be able to carry on operations against the place; thirdly, the complete repulse of the enemy in a most gallant attack on our principal post on the heights of Malown, which produced all the results of victory by terminating in the surrender of Ummer Sing. The fruits

of these decisive and important successes against the principal leader and force of the Nipaulese State, combined with the previous reduction of Kamaon, have been, says the Governor-General, the entire extinction of the Goorkha power throughout the countries formerly in their possession to the westward of the Kali or Gogra river, involving the loss to them of more than a third of their dominions,—a result which, in the opinion of Lord Moira, must either produce an early and honorable peace or enable us to pursue the war with eminent advantage.

Acknowledgment of the services of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony.

4. So high is the estimation in which we hold the services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, and so greatly do we appreciate them, both in their nature and effects, that it is in our contemplation to bestow on that gallant and excellent officer a substantial proof of the gratitude of the Company for the benefits they have derived from them."

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